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THE
Life and Bibliography
OF
ANDREW BRICE,
AUTHOR AND JOURNALIST;

WITH SOME REMARKS ON
The Early History of the Exeter Newspaper Press.

WITH A SUPPLEMENTARY ARTICLE ON
THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE "EXMOOR SCOLDING
AND COURTSHIP."

BY
T. N. BRUSHFIELD, M.D.

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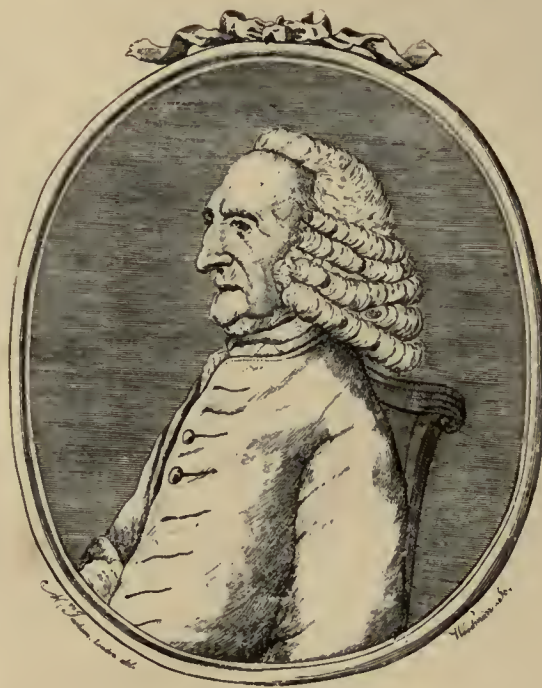
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ANDREW BRICE of *Exeter* Printer.
Author of the Topographic Dictionary &c. Etat 83.

Published According to Act of Parliament for Barnabas Thorn Bookfeller Exon April 74

ANDREW BRICE,

AND THE EARLY EXETER NEWSPAPER PRESS.

BY T. N. BRUSHFIELD, M.D.

(Read at Exeter, July, 1888.)

IN the history of the literature, more especially of the journalistic literature, of the south-west of England during the past century, no figure stands out in more prominent relief than that of Andrew Brice of Exeter.* In selecting him as the main subject of the present paper, I am guided by the belief that as the annual gathering of the members of the Devonshire Association takes place this year in the city of his birth and of his death, of his fortunes and of his misfortunes, I take it for granted that the local interest attached to his name is a sufficient warrant for my so doing; and yet, famous as Andrew Brice was in his day, under the varied aspects of author, journalist, printer, and freemason; and well known as his name continues to be in this locality, comparatively little is known of him personally; the year of his birth is doubtful, and the small spot occupied by his remains no man knoweth.

From his teens to the end of his long life he was a journalist, at a time when journalism implied unremitting hard work and scanty pay. In fact, his whole career was so intimately interwoven with the foundation and progress of the daily newspaper press of Exeter, as to render necessary and concurrently some account of the latter. Although the ground has been already fairly well occupied, there is still a good deal to relate concerning it; and, I may add, there are yet many gaps in its history to be filled up.†

* "Andrew Brice is the most notable figure among the west-country typographers of the last century." (R. N. WORTH, "Hist. of Printing in Devon." *Trans. Devon Assoc.* xi. [1879], 503).

† Cf. "Notes on the History of Printing in Devon," by R. N. WORTH, *Trans. Devon Assoc.* xi. (1879), 497-515; ANDREWS' *History of British Journalism* (1859), vol. i. GRANT'S *Newspaper Press* (3 vols., 1871-2) mentions no Devon paper of an earlier date than 1763.

The Brice family, although a very ancient one,* has not been remarkable for eminent men. The two most celebrated were Bishop Brice, of Tours, who lived in the fifth century, and the Rev. T. Brice of the 16th century. The former, although the records of his life scarcely redound to his credit, was elevated into a saint, and several places in Normandy were named after him.† St. Brice's day is a marked one in the annals of English history for being the one on which a great massacre of the Danes took place in 1002. The Rev. T. Brice was a poet. He wrote a metrical account of the Marian martyrs, reprinted in Arber's *English Garner*, iv.‡

The name is a fairly common one throughout England. Mr. R. Dymond§ informs me it is frequently met with in the North Devon Court Rolls, *ante* Edw. VI., and also in several of the Parish Registers of Exeter of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In Exeter itself no member of the family appears to have occupied any important position, and the name is not included in the lists of those who have held civic offices.

Andrew Brice,|| according to the leading authorities, was born in Exeter in the year 1690. Some later particulars of himself and family, first made public in 1885,⁷ so circumstantial in character as to bear the stamp of correctness, state the birth to have taken place on "August the 21st, 1692, in the house where Mr. May Hellier now lives [1719], near the Butcherow."¶ His parents "were neither low nor eminent,"¹

* The author of *The Norman People* (1874) affirms that Bryce is "armorially identified with Bruce or Bruse" (176).

† Rev. S. BARING-GOULD, *Lives of the Saints*, xi. (1877), 312-314.

‡ For other works of his, vide *Old Ballads*, ed. by J. P. COLLIER (*Percy Soc.* 1860), 49-52; and RITSON's *Bibliog. Poet.* (1802), 143-4.

§ I take this opportunity of acknowledging the kind assistance rendered me by Mr. Dymond in many portions of this paper.

|| The principal circumstances of his life are related in the following: ¹ *Universal Magazine* for 1781 (lxix. 281-283, and reprinted in TIMPERLEY'S *Dict. of Printers and Printing*, 729-731; ² *Biography of Exonians*, by Dr. OLIVER, published in an Exeter newspaper; ³ MOORE'S *Devonshire* (1829), ii. 679-682, to a considerable extent a reprint of Dr. Oliver's Memoir; ⁴ Memoir by W. P. Courtney in L. STEPHEN'S *Dictionary of National Biography*, vi. (1886), 310; ⁵ R. POLWHELE, *History of Cornwall*, v. (1806), 88-90; ⁶ H. CURWEN, *History of Booksellers* (1873), 477-8; ⁷ MS. entries in a Latin Bible, in the possession of the Rev. E. Grigson, Norfolk, and printed in *Western Antiquary*, iv. (1885), 196. These articles are referred to in the present paper under the figures prefixed to each authority.

¶ In the neighbourhood of this row resided from time to time various members of the Brice family. The following notice is interesting for showing the trade of one in the early part of the eighteenth century:

"Exon. At the House of *Thomas Brice*, near the Head of the *Butcherow*, is very good Ale sold, for Twopence per quart, Inn-door, or Out-door, for ready Money." (BRICE'S *Weekly Journal*, Sept. 4, 1730.)

his father being a shoemaker.⁷ Andrew was intended by them for a dissenting minister, and "with this view they gave him a grammatical education, which he considerably improved."¹ That he pursued his classical studies successfully, and to a considerable extent, is shown by his frequent quotations from the great Latin authors throughout his writings, especially in his newspaper articles.

His earliest biographer¹ asserts, that owing to the circumstances of his parents "being too narrow to enable them to complete their wishes, he was obliged at the age of seventeen to think of some other avocation."^{*} Dr. Oliver states that he gave up the ministry "on preferring the trade of a printer."² Polwhele⁵ affirms, he was informed by Brice himself, that he was by "his instructors . . . deemed fitter for a printer than a parson." His own, somewhat verbose, explanation of the alteration of his occupation, is thus given in the fragment of his autobiography:

"T will not, I hope, be deemed Vanity, to hint, that my Father designing me not for a Secular Employ, an Education not common to All of our Profession was my Portion. Nor will it be unfair, however *unprofitable* to premise, That the Argument *how much, both by Principle and Natural Genius, I appear'd formed to serve my Generation in the Capacity of a Printer, particularly by obviating the scandalous Insinuations spread perpetually by Presses, in this City, disaffected to our happy Constitution and Establishment, urg'd on me by Gentlemen Eminent for Loyalty*, was the prime Motive of my forgoing my delightful Studies, and bidding welcome to servile Toil, to qualify myself for the Duty."[†]

We may reasonably doubt whether he would have written in this style at the time he gave up his studies for the ministry. Although there is no allusion to his father's indifferent circumstances, they were probably the main cause of his vocation being changed from the pulpit to the workshop.

Before proceeding further with Brice's history, it will be necessary to take a brief survey of the commencement of the newspaper press of Exeter, and of its progress up to the year 1731. Excepting in the case of Brice's own paper, this year has been fixed on as the limit, a favourable opportunity having presented itself of making a careful examination of Exeter newspapers, from their commencement on September 24th, 1714, to June 4th, 1731.[‡]

^{*} Cf. CURWEN.⁶

[†] "The Author's Case," at the end of his poem on *Freedom* (1730), 121.

[‡] The series, a fairly continuous one, comprised: *The Exeter Mercury*, from No. 1, September 24th, 1714, to September 30th, 1715, and a few

In a letter, dated August 1st, 1706, sent by Thomas Tanner (afterwards bishop of St. Asaph) to Browne Willis, is this paragraph: "I am told they print also now a weekly paper at Exeter."* Although a printing-press had been established in the city during the previous century, this is the earliest reference yet found to any local journal. How far the hearsay report was correct we have no present means of ascertaining. No other contemporary writer alludes to it.

Samuel Farley has been termed by one of his descendants, "the father of journalism in the West of England;" but to this he is scarcely entitled. The history of the known Exeter press certainly commences with him. His first newspaper venture was the *Bristol Postman* in 1713.†

On September 24th, 1714, he started his first Exeter newspaper, with the following title:

"Numb. 1. The Exeter Mereury: or, Weekly Intelligenee of News: Being a Faithful Abstract of all the *News Papers* of Note: Containing the Material Occurrenees Foreign and Domestick; With a Partieular Aeccount of what Books and Pamphlets are Publish'd in *Great Britain, France, Holland,* &c. N.B. *Advertisements* are taken in at the usual pries. Friday September 24, 1714. Exon: Printed by Philip Bishop at his Printing-Office in *St. Peter's Church-yard*. 1714. *To be continu'd Weekly.* Price Three Half-Pence."

This title well expressed the aim and character of its contents. It was a digest of all news, home and foreign, culled more especially from the London papers. Local news and intelligence received no especial consideration. The

subsequent odd numbers; *The Protestant Mercury*, from No. 4, October 7th, 1715, to September 13, 1717; *The Postmaster*, from No. 16, November 11th, 1720, to its completion, April 23rd, 1725; *Brice's Weekly Journal*, from No. 1, April 30th, 1725, to June 4th, 1731. Some odd numbers of *Farley's Exeter Journal*. Excepting *Brice's Weekly Journal* from June 20th, 1729, to the last date named (in my own possession), all are preserved in the Library of the Devon and Exeter Institution. Many of the issues of the same paper during the last three years of its existence being in the possession of my friend, Mr. Alfred Wallis, he has kindly permitted me to examine them, so as to be enabled to make the account of it more continuous and complete, "from its cradle to its grave."

* *Notes and Queries*, 5th, ix. 12, quoted by Mr. H. W. Allnutt from Browne Willis' MSS. in Bodleian Library, vol. xcvi., folio 259.

† Much has been written about the early history of the Bristol press, but the most reliable account of it is certainly that of Mr. William George, in the *Athenæum* of August 2nd, 1884. Most writers have ignored the existence of the *Bristol Postman*, and while some have asserted the *Bristol Journal* was the one first issued in 1713, others have assigned the latter to 1714, 1715, and 1735. Vide *Notes and Queries*, 3rd S., i. 287, 351, 435; *Glostershire Notes and Queries*, ii. 605; J. GRANT, *Op. cit.* iii. 266; TIMPERLEY, *Dictionary of Printers, &c.* (1839), 612.

object was to furnish information of events taking place beyond its own locality. This was the general type of character of the provincial press during the greater part of the eighteenth century.

The title occupied the entire page. Two rough woodcuts adorned the upper corners: that on the left represented a ship in full sail; that on the right, a mounted post-boy blowing a horn. Above the name of the printer was a large woodcut monogram, "P.B.," the letters being repeated in a reversed position, so as to form collectively a symmetrical ornament.

It consisted of six pages (two columns in each), a few being subsequently extended to eight. The numbering began on the third page, but in the issue of October 1st, and of all afterwards, on the first. Each page measured $11\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$. At first it was published once a week, on Fridays; but on and after October 4th, 1715, it appeared on Tuesdays as well. The price was three halfpence; or, according to a note in the number for July 29th, 1715, "Seal'd and Deliver'd for the Country at 8 s a Year." When issued bi-weekly the following notice appeared: "Deliver'd to all Subscribers, in this City at 13 s a Year. Seal'd and Deliver'd to Country Subscribers at 15 s a Year, they paying Carriage. And at my own House Deliver'd at 3 Half-Pence each Paper."

The first number was made up thus: the title occupied the first page; at the back of this was printed a Catalogue of Books and Pamphlets, seventeen in number, published in London. The remaining four pages were occupied by home and foreign news, the principal items relating to the progress of George I. from the Continent, and to the Pretender. With respect to the latter, allusion was made to a Copy of a Proclamation, that £100,000 would be paid to any one "who shall seize and secure him." There were no advertisements, and not a scrap of local intelligence.

The earliest advertisements (two) appeared in number three, October 8th. The following is a copy of one inserted by the printer of the paper:

"At Philip Bishop's Bookseller, Who Lives in the House, in St. Peter's Church-Yard, Exon, where Mr. Quash lately kept the Post Office, You may be constantly supplied with Daffey's Elixir, Stoughton's Elixir, Magnum Stomachicum, Spirits of Scurvy grass, Golden and Plain Peter's Pill and Cordial Tincture, Tippin's famous Liquor for Gout, Stone, and Gravel. The famous liquid Snuff of Padua."

The practice of devoting the last page to the latest news, with the heading, "By the last night's post we had the following advices," commenced in the ninth number (November 19th).

The Catalogue of Books was continued from week to week, and the first notice of a Devonshire work was the following in No. 5 (Oct. 22): "*A Defence of the Honour and Memory of Christ Crucified*. [No author's name.] Printed by P. Bishop. . . . 1714. Price 2d." There is no mention of this in any bibliographical work.

The first item of local intelligence was contained in No. 13 (Dec. 17), and is here quoted in full:

"Exon, Dec. 13. This Day we had certain Advice from Oxford, That the University met in Convocation had taken into Consideration the great Service done to the Church of England as by Law established, by the Reverend Mr. John Walker, Rector of St. Mary's the More, in this City, in compiling and publishing his Book, intituled, *An Attempt towards Recovering an Account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy of the Church of England*, and resolved, as a Reward, to honour him with the Degree of Doctor of Divinity of their University."

That *The Exeter Mereury* was first established by Samuel Farley was affirmed by Dr. Oliver,² and reiterated by Mr. R. Dymond.* It is, however, the opinion of Mr. Worth that "the imprint appears to give [Philip] Bishop the entire credit."† That it was first started by S. Farley, and at the expiration of one year passed into the hands of Bishop, seems to be corroborated by the following notice, printed in the issue for Sept. 30, 1715 (Vol. 2, No. 2):

"Exon. Sept. 30.

This is to certify all my News-Customers, that I am come to an agreement with Mr. Bishop, (to save double Charges) That he shall always Print the *News*; and you shall be as duly served with this as hitherto with Mine; and abstracted from the same Papers as Mine ever was: Not but that I continue on all other Business; and shall Print any Advertisements single. If this be acceptable, 'twill be very obliging to

Your Humble Servant,
Sam. Farley."

* *Treiman's Exeter Flying Post*, Jan. 1, 1879.

† *Op. cit.* 502.

It will not be considered as foreign to this article to make a few remarks on the two personages, whose names are associated with the fortunes of this early Exeter newspaper.

Samuel Farley is believed to have been a Devonshire man, by one of his descendants.* His name first appears with that of Samuel Darker, as the joint printers of a Sermon preached at Dartmouth on July 24, 1698, by the Rev. Humfry Smith.† That the partnership commenced in this year is probable, as in other works of the same year the name of S. Darker alone appears. That he was a resident of Exeter is shown by the following entry in the register of St. Paul's, Exeter:

"Sarah, dau. of Samuel Farley, bapt. 16 Oct., 1699."‡

The joint names occur as printers of several works in 1699 and 1700, and then Darker's name disappears. In 1701, S. Farley printed the first edition of Prince's *Worthies of Devon*, the most important work, perhaps, that had as yet emanated from the Exeter press. Nearly all the volumes printed by him seem to have been published by P. Bishop. In 1709, his address was "over against the New Inn" in High Street.§ It is probable he left Exeter for a time about the period of the completion of the first volume of *The Exeter Mercury*, a year after its establishment, as on Sept. 27, 1715, he published the first number of *The Salisbury Postman or Paquet of Intelligence*, bearing this imprint, "Printed by Samuel Farley, at his office, adjoining to Mr. Robert Silcock's, on the Ditch in Sarum. Anno 1715."||

Philip Bishop was probably born in Exeter, and "appears to have lived in *St. Martin's*, Exeter, as the Register has several entries of his family." He was admitted a freeman "by apprenticeship 1688-9."¶ The earliest work containing his name as publisher is dated 1697. In 1698, his shop was situated "over against the Guildhall." To this is added, in a work issued by him in 1703, "At the Golden Bible." This is stated to be sometimes "in the High Street," at other times "in the Fore-street." He removed to St. Peter's

* J. Farley Rutter, in *Glocestersh. Notes and Queries*, iii. 605.

† *Western Antiquary*, vi. 98. List of *Devon Booksellers and Printers* in the 17th and 18th centuries, by the Rev. J. Ingle Dredge, one of the most valuable contributions to the history of West Country literature that has of late years appeared. It was published in the 5th and 6th vols. of the *Western Antiquary*. Nearly all the references to the Exeter printers are taken from it.

‡ Mr. R. DYMOND, *Western Antiquary*, v. 4. § *Ibid.* v. 6.

|| A. ANDREWS, *Op. cit.* (1859), i. 270-1; TIMPERLEY, *Op. cit.* 611.

¶ Mr. R. DYMOND, *Western Antiquary*, v. 4.

Churchyard in 1713, up to which period he had been known as a "bookseller" only, but with the advent of the *Exeter Mercury* his "printing-office" is mentioned for the first time. The earliest work containing his name as a printer was issued in 1715.* He died in the year 1716. Of him the eccentric John Dunton remarked, "He is a firm adherer to the established government, and a declared enemy to popery and slavery. He is a man of strict justice, deals much, and thrives in his trade."† In 1717 a sermon, by the Bishop of Exeter, was "printed for M. Bishop [widow of Philip Bishop?], and sold by Nath. Thorn, Bookseller, in St. Peter's Churchyard."‡ Thorn had evidently succeeded Philip Bishop, as George, the son of the latter, also a printer and employed by Thorn, resided "in the Fore-street opposite to St. Stephen's Church" in 1719.

The altered business arrangements, as well as the bi-weekly issue of the *Exeter Mercury*, at the end of its first year, to which allusion has been already made, may have been due to the appearance of a rival newspaper. The first number of this new publication came out on September 16th, 1715, with the following title, which occupied the whole of the front page:

"Numb. IV. § The Protestant Mercury: or, the Exeter Post Boy with News Foreign and Domestick: Being the most Remarkable Occurrences, impartially collected, as Occasion offers, from the *Evening-Post*, *Gazette*, *Votes*, *Flying-Post*, *Weekly Pacquet*, *Dormer's Letter*, *Post-Script* [sic] to the *Post-Man*, &c. So that no one can pretend to have a better Collection. Publish'd every Tuesday and Friday. Price, seal'd for the Country, 10s. *per Annum* [sic] and for the Convenience of those that will take the same but Once a Week, it is so order'd, that every Friday's Paper will contain three Posts, or the whole Weeks News. *Advertisements will be incerted at Reasonable Rates*. This Paper circulates Forty Miles round, and several Hundreds dispers'd every Week. Friday, October the 7th, 1715. Printed by Jos. Bliss, at his New Printing-House near the *London-Inn*, without *East-Gate*."

* This was *A Sermon*, by the Rev. J. Fursman (*Western Antiquary*, v. 7). Mr. Worth (*Op. cit.* 501) affirms he printed "on his own account, for we have his imprint to works between 1707 and 1715 inclusive;" but the earliest in the Rev. J. Dredge's list is 1715, previous to which S. Farley or J. Bliss are given as the printers of the volumes published by him. Even after his removal to St. Peter's Churchyard, S. Farley printed some of his works in 1713 and year following.

† *Life and Errors of John Dunton* (1705), quoted by Timperley, *Op. cit.* 631.

‡ *Western Antiquary*, v. 114.

§ The earliest number obtainable for examination.



A

NUMB. I.

THE

Exeter Mercury:

O R,



Weekly Intelligence

O F

NEWS:

Being A FAITHFUL

ABSTRACT of all the *News Papers* of Note:

Containing the MATERIAL OCCURRENCES

FOREIGN and *DOMESTICK*;With a Particular Account of what BOOKS
and PAMPHLETS are Publish'd in *Great*
*Britain, France, Holland, &c.*N. B. *Advertisements are taken in at the usual Prices.*

FRIDAY September 24. 1714.



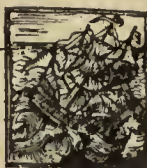
E X O N:

Printed by PHILIP BISHOP at his Printing-Office in *St. Peter's Church-*
yard, 1714.*To be continu'd Weekly. Price Three Half-Pence.*



[A]

Numb. IV.




THE
Protestant Mercury :
OR, THE

Exeter Post-Boy
WITH
N E W S
FOREIGN and DOMESTICK :
BEING

The most Remarkable Occurrences, impartially collected, as Occasion offers, from the *Evening-Post*, *Gazette*, *Vites*, *Flying-Post*, *Weekly-Pacquet*, *Dormer's Letter*, *Post-script to the Post-Man*, &c. So that no other can pretend to have a better Collection.

Publish'd every TUESDAY and FRIDAY. Price, seal'd for the County, 10 s. per Annum. And for the Convenience of those that will take the same but Once a Week, it is so order'd, that every Friday's Paper will contain three Posts, or the whole Weeks News.

Advertisements will be inserted at Reasonable Rates.

 This Paper circulates Forty Miles round, and several Hundreds dispers'd every Week.

Friday. October the 7th, 1715.



Printed by JOS BLISS, at his NEW PRINTING-HOUSE near the
London-Inn, without East-Gate.

Of two woodcuts at the upper corners of the title, the right one represented a ship, the left a mounted post-boy. (The position of these was reversed on and after January 25th, 1717.) Above the printer's name appeared a woodcut monogram, almost identical with that on the title of the *Exeter Mercury*, with the addition of the figures of two small birds. If the title-pages of the two papers be compared, the fact is at once apparent that the new rival for public favour was a close imitation of the older established one.* They were each styled *Mercury*, and the size of the pages, and their number, columns, the price, and general get-up were similar. The woodcuts in the title were similar in subject, and the monogram in each was almost identical. Nothing could be more absurd than the latter in Bliss's paper; for whereas "P. B." was correct enough for Philip Bishop in the older journal, it was manifestly incorrect for Joseph Bliss in its rival. In politics, the former was Tory and Jacobite, the latter Whig. The appearance of the second bears testimony to the success of the first.

Of Joseph Bliss we know but little. In the Rev. J. Dredge's list, he is mentioned as being in partnership with S. Farley in the year 1707, four works containing their joint names as printers.† From 1708 to 1710 his shop was "in the Exchange;"‡ but in 1711 he had removed to "near the London-Inn, a little without East-gate."§ Here he started his newspaper, and he remained at the same address, as far as we have any record of him, the latest date being 1719, in which year he printed two works.||

The two newspapers did not differ materially from each other as to their general contents, but the printing and the paper of Bliss's *Mercury* were certainly inferior to those of Bishop's. In the year following that of its first publication, the former exhibited indications of its progress being not altogether satisfactory. In the number for May 4, 1716, the following apology and proposed remedy appeared:

"By reason many Complaints have been made of the Badness of my Paper, which makes the Print appear the worse, and most Persons that buy my News being rather inclin'd to pay the Price for better, besides the Encouragement I am promis'd from several

* Fac-similes of the two are given in the accompanying plates.

† *Western Antiquary*, v. 6; vi. 98-9.

‡ The Exchange was a few doors below the Guildhall. Another, termed the "New Exchange," was formed between the "Broad Gate and St. Martin's" in the early part of the eighteenth century. (*Vide BRUCE'S Gazetteer*, 543.)

§ *Western Antiquary*, v. 113.

|| *Ibid.* vi. 99-100.

Gentlemen and Others who would then become my Customers: This is therefore to give Notice, That next Week, I shall print a very Fine Paper, Price Single Three Half-Pence; but to those that take it Quarterly, at the Rate of 10s. per Annum. Carriers and all others that take 3, 4, or more Papers, huying them at my House, shall have a Reasonable Allowance."

In some of the succeeding numbers, "Price, Fine Three Half Pence, Coarse One Penny," was printed at the base of the first page; and in the following March, "Price One Penny." About June of that year, the issue was restricted to once weekly.

Although the editors were rivals in politics at a time when party spirit was high, and did not scruple to attack each other virulently and by name in their respective papers, yet personalities and allusions to politics were far less frequent than was the case a few years later. Editors might libel each other as much as they liked, and little or no notice be taken; but if they reflected on the Government of the day, they rendered themselves liable to a troublesome and expensive prosecution, with more or less loss of liberty. An instance of this kind affected in a material manner the fortunes of the *Exeter Mercury* and its editor. The following transcriptions from Bliss's paper of three different dates relate to it:

"By Reason Nero Bishop continues to oppose me in the Sale of my News in the Town of Taunton, this is to give Notice, That I design in a fews [*sic*] Days to be there with a Printing-Press, in order to serve the said Town, and print the same twice every Week, if encourag'd.—Jos. Bliss."
(March 2, 1716).

"Bishop the Upstart Ballad-Printer of Exeter, is confin'd Prisoner in the King's Bench, where he is to remain till next Term."
(July 13, 1716).

"Since the Death of the late *Phil. Bishop*, one *Reynolds*, that was his Apprentice, has made a Discovery of some Persons who were concern'd with his said Master in the printing of that horrid and unpardonable Libel *Nero the Second*. . . . I am told *Bishop's* Punishment was to have been, To stand in the Pillory 3 several Times, and to have his Ears (if not his Hands also) cut off and nail'd to the same; To be Whip'd at the Cart-Tail 3 several Market-Days round this City; And to be Imprison'd during Life. A Sentence indeed too mild for his inexorable Villany," &c.
(December 21, 1716).

From these paragraphs we learn that Bishop had, in the early part of 1716, printed and published a Jacobite Ballad

entitled *Nero the Second*, reflecting upon the King [George I.] For this he was arrested, sent to the King's Bench Prison to await his trial, and died, probably in prison, before the close of the year. That he would have been severely punished, had he survived, is not improbable, from our knowledge of the records of the early part of the eighteenth century, when savage punishments for political offences seemed to be the order of the day. The knowledge of this may have hastened, if indeed it did not cause, his death.*

George Bishop succeeded his father as owner and printer of the *Exeter Mercury*, and two years later, he and the rival editor, Jos. Bliss, simultaneously experienced another form of vexatious trouble. On December 4th, 1718, they were summoned before the House of Commons for Breach of Privilege, in having printed the Proceedings of the House, in their respective papers of the previous week. Bishop presented himself on December 19th, but Bliss kept away. On the following day Bishop was heard at the Bar of the House, and after expressing his sorrow, and humbly begging pardon; that "having a Wife and Family to provide for in the Country, his Affairs will suffer very much by his Absence: And praying, That he may be discharged out of Custody." Accordingly, while "upon his knees" he "received a Reprimand from Mr. Speaker; and was discharged out of Custody, paying his fees." On January 14th, Bliss, not personally, but by letter, "prayed That the House would not proceed any further against him; which if they did, it would end in the Ruin of himself and his Children, he being wholly void of Friends and Money, and in no Condition to make Satisfaction for any part of his Fees." Upon this, the House ordered "That the said Jos. Blisse be discharged of his said Commitment."† That he got off very easily is certain, and this may have been in part owing to his Anti-Jacobite tendencies.

How long these two papers continued to be published, is a matter of great uncertainty; probably both had ceased

* It is remarkable that Bishop's printing-press, at which this libel was printed, fell subsequently into the possession of Andrew Brice, and is thus alluded to by him in his poem on *Freedom*—

"From my Convert Engine Nero's Spirit
Had long exorcis'd been."

And in a footnote: "The very Press at which this Poem is wrought formerly (when possessed by another Hand) printed that most notorious Treasonable Libel entitled *A Second Nero*, with many other seditious Reflections on the Government." (104.)

† *Journals of House of Commons*, xix. 30, 43, 44, 53.

before the year 1720, ousted perhaps by the publication of a new rival to both. Certain is it, that neither of the names of Bishop or of Bliss, have yet been found as printers of any works later than 1719.

Up to the period of the establishment of Bliss's paper in 1715, we know nothing of the history of Andrew Brice, beyond what has been already stated. In the first memoir of him,¹ the writer affirms that on the occasion of

"Mr. Bliss, a printer of Exeter, wanting a person capable of correcting the press, young Brice [aged 17] was proposed to, and accepted by him as an apprentice for the term of five years. However, having long before his service expired, inconsiderately contracted marriage, and being unable to support a family of a wife and two children, he enlisted as a soldier, in order to cancel his indentures; and, by the interest of his friends, very soon procured his discharge."

There are several points in this quotation that need some comment. That he was apprenticed to, and ran away from his master, Jos. Bliss, we have the following convincing notice that was inserted by the latter in his own newspaper of December 30th, 1715:

"Whereas Andrew Brice, who is my Lawful Apprenticc, hath, without any Cause, in the midst of a Flush of Business, and when I was disabled by Illness from working myself, roguishly absconded and deserted from my Service, to my present great Loss of Businress [sic], and Damage, this is to forbid all persons to entertain or employ the said Andrew Brice in any Business, or upon any Account, whatsoever; for, acting by the Advice of the Learned in the Law, I am resolved, upon Notice thereof to prosecute such as shall so do. If he returns not to my Business in a very short Time, I shall apply myself to the Magistrates of this City for Justice in this Case.

"N.B. I am inform'd his Dependence is on Mr. Bishop; but I am greatly deceiv'd, if He is not a Person of more Sense; and better understands what belongs to an Apprentice, than to encourage such a Rascal as shall so basely leave his Master without the least Cause.

Jos. Bliss."*

This was the first occasion of Brice's name appearing in print, or of any authentic information concerning him. That he had covertly entered the service of Bishop, or was screened by him, was evidently Bliss's opinion, but lacks corroboration. The date of expiration of Brice's apprenticeship is unknown. If born in 1690, he would have been twenty-five years of

* This advertisement was not repeated.

age in 1715; but if only seventeen when he joined Bliss, his five years would have terminated in 1712. But the advertisement above quoted shows that he had not completed his term when he ran away in Dec., 1715. A due consideration of this serves to strengthen the probability of his birth having taken place at the later of the two dates mentioned; viz., in 1692.⁷ Further, the same authority in affirming he had one child born to him in 1714 helps to corroborate the statement in the *Universal Magazine*,¹ of his marriage having taken place during his apprenticeship.

From the time [1715] when Brice so summarily terminated his connection with Bliss, until the year 1720, Dr. Oliver² was unable to give any satisfactory account of him. "In the autumn of 1720 we trace him to Exeter," are his words, implying his absence from the City up to that year. In this opinion he was apparently influenced by the following assertion made by the Rev. J. Whitaker: "One Brice, a printer at Truro, afterwards a printer, bookseller, and author at Exeter."* He was certainly in business at Truro at one period of his life, but it was twenty-five years later—in 1740.

It is asserted in the earliest account we possess of him,¹ that "in 1714, he commenced business for himself," as printer. According to Polwhele,⁵ he enlisted during his apprenticeship, "but was freed and returned to his master;" that, on the death of Bliss, he entered into the service of Bishop; and that "in or about the year 1715 [he] begun a Weekly Newspaper which he continued . . . to the time of his death." But all these dates are irretrievably wrong. Bliss was living in 1719, and in December, 1715, Brice had not completed his apprenticeship.

Whatever may have been the cause of his running away from Bliss, he cannot have been absent from Exeter for any great length of time. We are certainly unaware of his movements during 1716, but that he was pursuing his trade, in Exeter, in the early part of 1717, we have the positive evidence of the following paragraph, inserted by his former master, in the *Protestant Mercury*, of March 22nd, 1717:

"N.B. Having received reiterated Assurances from several Gentlemen, that, notwithstanding that Villain Brice's Opposition against me, they are firmly resolved to continue in my Interest: To oblige them, therefore, and the rest of my Customers, I shall for the future publish my News on no worse Paper than this, Price One Penny. I can't forbear remarking, how that sorry

* *Ancient Cathedral of Cornwall* (1804), ii. 65.

Rascal has opened his Printing Press with a most ridiculous and shabby Advertisement, and a shameful obscene bawdy Ballad, which deserves to be burnt. Curious Specimens of Rare Genius and Great Capacity!"

It is evident from this, that Brice had taken up his permanent residence in the city, and was already beginning to make himself known and felt in his own peculiar manner. His second child was born in August of that year in a house in Southgate Street.⁷ In 1718 his name first comes under notice, as the printer of a separate work, that and his address being thus given: "Exon: Printed by Andrew Brice, at the Head of the Serge-Market, in Southgate street, MDCCXVIII."* This is believed to have been his first place of business, and where he remained for some years.[†]

The Postmaster, or the Loyal Mercury newspaper, was started by Brice. Dr. Oliver² and Mr. Worth[†] affirm it was commenced in 1720, and at first sight this appears to be corroborated by an examination of an early copy of it. For example, the earliest one that has been hitherto met with is number sixteen, for November 11th, 1720; and as it was a weekly publication, number one should have been published on July 29th of that year, there being no indication in the paper itself of any publication prior to the latter date; and yet the evidence is clear that it had been commenced at least two years earlier.[§]

Turning to the *Journals of the House of Commons*, we find under date December 19th, 1718, after a notice of the cases of Bishop and Bliss, to which attention has been already drawn, the following:

"Complaint having been made to the House, of a printed Pamphlet, intituled, *The Postmaster, or the loyal Mercury, Friday, November the 28th, 1718; Exon.* Printed by Andrew Brice, at the Head of the *Serge-Market* in Southgate-street. Wherein the Resolutions and Proceedings of this House are falsly represented and printed, in Contempt of the Order, and in Breach of the Privilege of this House; the said Pamphlet was delivered in at the Clerk's Table; and several Paragraphs thereof being read. Ordered That the said *Andrew Brice* do attend this House upon Wednesday the Fourteenth Day of January." (xix., 43.)

* *Western Antiquary*, vi. 99.

† Since writing the foregoing, there has come into my possession a work printed by A. Brice, at the same address, in 1717.

‡ *Op. cit.* 502-3.

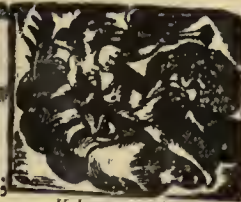
§ *Vide post*, p. 22, a quotation from *Brice's Weekly Journal* of June 17th, 1726; also p. 41.)



Numb. 16.

THE

Post master;



legue reditque.

Volat ovis Eterni.

O R,

The Loyal Mercury.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER the 11th, 1720.

Upon this very Mistake, the Captain took a particular liking to me, and employ'd me frequently on his own Occasions; and on the other Hand, in Recompence for my Officious Diligence, I received several particular Favours from him; particularly, I was by the Captain's Command made a kind of a Steward under the Ship's Steward, for such Provisions as the Captain demanded for his own Table. He had another Steward for his private Stores besides, but my Office concern'd only what the Captain call'd for of the Ship's Stores for his private Use.

However, by this Means I had Opportunity particularly to take Care of my Master's Man, and in return my self with sufficient Provisions to make me live much better than the other People in the Ship; for the Captain seldom order'd any thing out of the Ship's Stores, as above, but I snipt some of it for my own Share. We arriv'd at Goa in the East-Indies, in about seven Months, from Lisbon, and remained there eight more; during which Time I had indeed nothing to do, my Master being generally on Shore, but to learn every thing that was wicked among the Portuguese, a Nation on the most perfidious and the most debauch'd, the most insolent and cruel, of any that pretend to call themselves Christians, in the World.

Theft, Lying, Swearing, Forbearance, and to the most abominable Lewdness, was the staid Practice of the Ship's Crew; adding to it, that with ship most insupportable Boasts of their own Courage, they were generally speaking the most complacent Cowards that I ever met with, and the Consequence of these Cowardice was evident upon many Occasions. However, there was here and there one among them that was not so bad as the rest; and as my Love fell among them, it made me have the most contemptible Thoughts of the rest, as indeed they deserved.

I was exactly fitted for their Society indeed; for I had no Sense of Virtue or Religion upon me. I had never heard of either, except what a good-old Parson had said to me when I was a Child of about Eight or Nine

Years old; nay, I was preparing, and growing up, to be as wicked as any Body could be, or perhaps ever was. Fate certainly thus directed my Beginning, knowing that I had Work which I had to do in the World, which nothing but one harden'd against all Sense of Honesty or Religion, could go thro'; and yet even in this State of Original Wickedness, I entertain'd such a settled Abhorrence of the abominable Villains of the Portuguese, that I could not but hate them most heartily from the Beginning, and all my life afterwards. They were so brutally wicked, so false and perfidious, not only to Strangers, but to one another; so meanly submissive when subdu'd; so insolent, or barbarous and tyrannical when 'superior, that I thought there was something in them that shock'd my very Nature. Add to this, that 'tis natural to an Englishman to hate a Coward, it all join'd together to make the Devil and a Portuguese equally my Aversion.

However, according to the English Proverb, *He that is Shipp'd with the Devil must sail with the Devil*; I was among them, and I manag'd my self as well as I could. My Master had consented that I should assist the Captain in the Office as above; but as I understood afterwards, that the Captain allow'd my Master Half a Moydore a Month for my Service, and that he had my Name upon the Ship's Book also, I expected that when the Ship came to be paid four Months Wages at the Indies, as they it seem'd always do, my Master would let me have something for my self.

But I was wrong in my Man, for he was none of that Kind: He had taken me up as in Distress, and his Business was to keep me in, and make his Market of me as he could; which I began to think of after a different Manner that I did at first; for at first I thought he had entertain'd me in meer Charity, upon seeing my distressed Circumstances, but did not doubt, but when he put me on Board the Ship, I should have some Wages for my Service.

But he thought, it seems, quite otherwise; and when I procur'd one to speak to him about it when the Ship

was

Printed by Andrew Brice, at the Head of the Serge-Market in South-gate-Street

On January 14th, 1719, Brice presented himself at the Bar,

"when he owned the Printing of the Pamphlet complained of; and said, He had the Intelligence from News-Letters sent to Coffee-Houses at Exeter. . . ."

Ordered That the said *Andrew Brice* be, for the said Breach of Privilege, taken into the Custody of the Serjeant at Arms." (*Ibid.* 53.)

On the day following, having acknowledged his offence,

"He was accordingly brought to the Bar: when he, upon his knees, received a Reprimand from Mr. Speaker; and was discharged out of Custody, paying his Fees." (xix., 54.)†

The copy of the paper above referred to is headed, "Numb. 16, *The Postmaster; or, the Loyal Mercury*, Friday, November the 11th, 1720." The upper corners contain woodcuts; the figure of a flying Mercury on the right; and Fame blowing a trumpet, held in one hand, the other supporting a branch, on the left.‡ Below the former is the sentence "Itque reditque," and "Volat ocior Euro" below the latter. At the base "Exon: Printed by Andrew Brice at the "Head of the Serge-Market in Southgate Street." The price (1½d.) is not stated. It consists of six two-column pages, and the page numbers are continuous through the consecutive issues. Each page measures about 10¾ × 6¾; but about the year 1723, was enlarged to the same size as that of the *Exeter Mercury*. The exact date of this enlargement is at present unknown; the latest of the small size yet examined is dated September 15th, 1721, and the earliest of the largest, May 24th, 1723. This last bore evidence that during the wide interval, and possibly at the time of the enlarged issue, Brice had changed his address, as the new imprint ran thus: "Exon: Printed by Andrew Brice over against St. Stephens Church in the High Street." This was probably the one that had been occupied by George Bishop, and where Brice had purchased the printing-press

* A good article on the subject of News Letters is a great desideratum. For a long period after the publication of newspapers, they continued to be circulated in MS. Mr. S. Gough Nichols had in his collection a number belonging to the latter part of the seventeenth century. At a later date printed ones were common, issued as broadsides, containing royal speeches, political or any news of general interest. It was the re-printing one of these, containing a report of the debates in the House of Commons, that led to Brice's trouble. (*Vide Notes and Queries*, 2nd S. viii. 450-1; ix. 34.

† A. ANDREWS, *Op. cit.*, i. 123, 271. Cf. *Historical Register* for 1719, 65, 69, 70, where the name appears as, "Price."

‡ These engravings appear in a work printed by him in 1717.

that had originally belonged to the father of the former, as already noted.

Brice introduced a new feature into his paper by devoting the first two pages to some tale or voyage, continued from week to week, in the style of the French *feuilleton*. This was subsequently imitated by other local papers. After a time these literary portions were printed as separate sheets, so as to be folded, and made up into a distinct work.*

As another example may be mentioned, *The Life of Charles Frederick III., King of Prussia*, a small 4to volume of 130 pages, issued in portions of four pages each with thirty-two consecutive numbers of the *Sherborne Mercury*.†

Always on the alert to make his paper more popular and attractive, he commenced, about the year 1723, to introduce letters from correspondents, more especially on religious and poetical subjects.

The Postmaster terminated its career with No. 223 for Friday, April 23, 1725, for the reasons adduced by him in a long letter printed in its final number. Up to that time, as noticed by him, newspapers were reckoned as pamphlets, and paid a very small tax to the State—3s. only for each impression; but under a new Act that had just come into force, the proprietor of every newspaper would have to pay for Stamp Duty one penny for every whole sheet, or one half-penny for half a sheet:

“By Means of which fresh Imposition, we shall be obliged for the future to print on *Stamp'd Paper*. And whereas (according to a moderate computation) I shall pay *Duty* to His Majesty above 100*l per Annum* more than ordinary; 't is humbly hoped my courteous Customers will not, cannot, take it ill, that I find myself absolutely obliged to enhance the Price of my Papers, in some Measure proportionable to the heavy Charge, viz., one *Half-penny* on each Paper, or *6d. per Quarter*.”

After some long paragraphs on the grievous hardships under which Printing, “the most wonderful Invention that

* Polwhele^s states: “To his newspaper he sometimes tacked a sheet on some other subject, to be bound up separately; among others his *General Historian*, begun in alphabetical order, was, after publishing a few numbers, suppressed and discontinued. . . . This was succeeded by his *Serio-jocular* medley, under the name of *Iscanius Philanax*, which he continued till it made up a small folio volume.”

† In this manner many good works were published and circulated throughout the country. One of the most extraordinary issues was *The History of the Old and New Testament*, published as a Supplement to *The London and Country Journal*, 1739–1742.

ever Providence bestow'd upon Mankind," had to labour, he remarks :

"I hope 't will be allowable for those who wear the Shoe to have a Sense of its Pinching! Well! we must struggle with the Difficulty as well as we can. But I hope our Readers would not think it reasonable for us to bear the whole Burthen, nor leave us in the lurch for the sake of so small a trifle as One Halfpenny per Week."

On the following Friday, April 30, 1725, there appeared, phoenix-like, from the ashes of the old paper, Brice's new journal, the description of which must be deferred until we have noticed another Exeter paper, which sprang into existence about two years prior to the cessation of *The Postmaster*.

In May, 1723, the active Samuel Farley, having returned to Exeter, but at what date is unknown, had commenced another local paper. The earliest copy obtainable is No. 104, for Friday, May 14th, 1725. It is headed, *Farley's Exeter Journal*, and bears this imprint, "Exon : Printed by S. Farley, over against the Guild-Hall;"* is of the same size, paging, price, and general appearance as Brice's new publication, and similar to it bears a halfpenny Government stamp. It was probably the same size as the *Postmaster*, prior to the enforcement of the stamp duty.

At some period between June 4th, 1725, and May 20th, 1726, the paper was transferred to Edward Farley, son of Samuel, but continued to be published at the same address. In the interval the paper was enlarged in size, but remained of four pages only, so as to fall under the halfpenny stamp duty. Its contents were becoming varied, by the introduction of tales continued from week to week, letters on various subjects, &c., apparently following the example set by Brice. In later issues the imprint is omitted. In 1728 Edward Farley experienced some trouble from the local authorities, owing to his Jacobite tendencies. His *Journal* of Friday, August 30th (No. 276), contained an article transcribed from *Mist's Weekly Journal* of the 24th of the same month. The latter was a pronounced Jacobite organ, and had been attacking the Hanoverian party in a marked manner from the accession of George II. in the

* Probably the same residence occupied by Phil. Bishop, prior to his removal to St. Peter's Churchyard in 1713; and at a later date first by B. Thorn, afterwards by Gilbert Dyer, author and bookseller, from 1788 to his death in 1820. The house was burnt down about ten years since. The site is now occupied by the business premises of Messrs. Wippell and Son. (Memoir of S. Farley, by Dr. OLIVER, in *Biography of Exonians*; *Western Antiquary*, i. 184-193; Mr. R. DYMOND'S *Widcombe* [1876], 79.)

preceding year. The grand jury, both of Devon and Exeter, at the October quarter sessions and gaol delivery, made three several presentments—one against *Mist's Weekly Journal*, and two against *Farley's Exeter Journal*—for having printed the said article, and which they characterized as an “infamous, scandalous, and treasonable Libel, calculated to poison the Minds of his Majesty's Subjects with groundless jealousies, to sow Sedition and overturn the Peace of this Kingdom, and in Favour of a *spurious*, abandon'd, and *abjured Pretender*.” The three presentments were printed at length in *Brice's Weekly Journal* of October 18th, 1728. No further notice was apparently taken of them.

How long Farley's paper continued its career is at present unknown. Under date February 24th, 1729, it is alluded to in some dedicatory verses prefixed to Brice's *Freedom*.

“Thy *Weekly Journal* is with Pleasure read
By *different Parties*; when 't is truly said
Thine has the *Quintessence* of ev'ry *Print*;
But as for F——y's,—Pho! there's nothing in 't.”*

This is the last reference to it that has yet been found.

In 1735, two works are recorded as having been printed by Edw. Farley,† one of them being the important folio volume, the *Genealogical History of the Family of Courtenay*, by the Rev. Ezra Cleaveland. At this time his address was the “*Shakespear's Head*, near *East-gate*.” After this year we hear no more of him. But some members of the Farley family certainly continued in Exeter as printers; for in 1754, on the occasion of the Pretender's birthday, on June 10th of that year, a riot took place in St. Sidwell's, owing to the landlord of the *Poltimore Inn*, decorating his sign with white roses, then considered a mark of disaffection to the Government; and “one *Mark Farley*, for printing a seditious song, was imprisoned in Southgate, where he was confined for many years.”‡

Felix Farley is affirmed to have started the *Weekly Journal* in Exeter in 1741, and to have “lived next door to Kitto's Coffee House in St. Peter's Church yard;”§ but this statement is of doubtful accuracy.

Return we now to Andrew Brice. His new paper presented a very different appearance from the old one. It was headed, “*Brice's Weekly Journal*. Numb. 1. *Exon.*, Friday, *April*

* These lines were first printed in *Brice's Weekly Journal* of Feb. 27th, 1730, when all of the fourth one, after the words, “But as for,” were omitted.

† *Western Antiquary*, v. 26.

‡ A. JENKINS, *History of Exeter* (1806), 207.

§ *Western Antiquary*, i. 184; *Gloc. Notes and Queries*, ii. 605.

the 30th, 1725," and was published weekly, price twopence. It consisted of 4 pages, of 2 columns each, measuring $10\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$, and remained of these dimensions until Aug. 13, 1725 (No. 14), when they were permanently enlarged to $11\frac{3}{4} \times 9\frac{1}{4}$, of 3 columns each. (On three subsequent occasions, Sept. 17 and 24, 1725, and March 11, 1726—Nos. 19, 20, and 44—the smaller size was resumed.) There was no imprint until No. 14, when "At *Exon*. printed by *Andrew Brice*, over-against *St. Stephen's Church*, in the *High Street*. 1725," appeared at the base of the fourth page, to which was added, on Oct. 1 (No. 21), "at the Sign of the *Printing-Press*." At the right hand bottom corner of the first page was the Government red stamp, termed by Brice in a later number, "the *blushing Blood-colour'd Mark* of the *wholesome Severity* lately *stamp'd* upon us." Excepting the House of Commons episode, we know little of Brice's personality during the progress of the *Postmaster*; his editorship had been apparently peaceable and uneventful. With his new journal the prominent points of his character became more developed. His characteristic letter of April 23, foreshadowed his subsequent troubles and misfortunes. We know from his own remarks that the diminished size of the paper, with its increase of price, had lessened its circulation. From causes not now apparent, bickerings and quarrels took place between him and the Farleys, who owned the rival paper, but were no match for Brice in literary warfare. Heart-burnings, general discontent, and pecuniary difficulties, all helped to embitter Brice's life and to affect the character of his writings.

The new stamp duty soon gave him trouble, and was the cause of his paper ceasing for two weeks. (The issue of June 11 is No. 5, but had it been regularly issued should have been No. 7.) The reason of this is stated in an editorial note in the copy for June 11:

"To prevent Mistakes and false Reports, *It may be requisite, at this Juncture, to inform my Customers, That, thro' the unfortunate Miscarriage of a Letter, I was unfurnish'd with Stamp'd Paper for a Week or two past; after having taken all the Care for a Supply (as I reasonably imagined) that Human Prudence would admit of. But, for the future, I dare promise, not only that my Readers shall never more be baulk'd in this respect, but that very shortly they shall be served so much better to their satisfaction, as probably will be surprising.*"

The first page of each number was usually occupied by some literary production, usually in the form of letters (some apparently written by Brice himself). The first

approach to a leader from his pen, formed an introduction to a "History of Pyrates," commenced in number twenty-three (October 15th)* and is memorable for containing his earliest reference to S. Farley. In a bantering vein, he alludes to his diminished circulation: "The Clemency and Indulgence of *powerful* Friends have kindly rid us of above Half the Burthen of former *Profit*, and the Fatigue of serving so many Customers as we were wont to do (for a vast number will not pay the *imposed* what-d'ye-call-it)." He gave much offence by an article in his issue of December 24th, 1725, entitled "Predictions, &c., for Christmas Morning," which led to his insertion of the following apology in the next number:†

"Understanding that some Parts of my last Journal have given great Offence to Good Pople, especially as abusive of the Scripture, by applying Phrases in it of the most venerable Import to a vile Sense; I acknowledge hereby the Justice of the Charge, am sincerely sorry for it, and promise my utmost Care hereafter not to print any Thing in the least prejudicial to Picty and Good Manners.

ANDREW BRICE."

In the number for January 14th, 1726, was commenced the first of a series of Articles entitled "General Reflections on the most important Events of the Year past," but they all related to foreign countries.

In the Collection of Exeter newspapers, from which much of the foregoing information has been gleaned, there is a gap in the sequence of *Brice's Weekly Journal* between number fifty-three, May 13th, and number one, June 17th, 1726. The heading of the latter is in a different type, and the number is probably the first of a new volume (there is nothing else to indicate it). Between those dates there had been some great quarrel between Brice and the Farleys, in which the former, from his own admission, had been in the wrong. The only particulars we at present know, are those related by himself, in a somewhat violent leader in his paper of June 17th, and which terminates with "a paraphrase on Psalm iii.," in ten six-line verses, affirmed by Brice to be "somewhat adapted" to his "own Case and Circumstances!" From this leader the following interesting extracts are made:

"So far am I from joining in the common Esteem and Idea of *Troubles*, that I confess I have labour'd under a continual Series of 'em for almost Nine Years past successively. . . .

* This History was continued weekly until May 12th, 1726. It appeared also in Farley's paper.

† The article contains statements of the most coarse and obscene description. These are not referred to in the apology. The toleration of coarseness and ribaldry was characteristic of the period.

"I must own, I have taken several very wrong Steps, and too rashly, at least heedlessly, pressing forward, deceived by a false Appearance of firm Footing, not only stepp'd into deep Mire, but sunk into a Slough. . . .

"I make not any Doubt that Ten Thousand fictitious calumniating Reports have been made, and perhaps believ'd, concerning Me, my Case, and Circumstances. . . .

"My Case and Apology shall be printed, as soon as Conveniency will permit, and be presented *gratis* to such as will not be willing to pay for it. . . .

"If for no other Reason than this, I am beforehand appriz'd how pitiful an Appearance the Name of *poor* Brice will make at the Head of this or any other Paper, whatever it may be at the Bottom. . . .

"Whatsoever I have been pillag'd and plunder'd of by the devouring *Locusts* in my Motto, I've preserv'd my Integrity and Courage, unimpair'd. . . .

"The Farleys have vauntingly given out, That they will yet totally effect my Overthrow, and that I am now tottering on the Brink of Destruction: For that Sam the younger is now actually gone to *London*, to swear to some dreadful Thing (I know not what) against me. . . .

"In *Exeter* I have Fixed my Habitation, tho' *Bristol* may shortly be better acquainted with me. For I can and will honourably make Reprizals."

It is doubtful whether the apology, to which he alludes, was ever printed. That his offence was a grave one is certain, otherwise he would scarcely have uttered the threat of retiring to Bristol. Whatever share the Farleys may have had in the matter, Brice did not omit to assail them from time to time, as though he were an ill-used man. In his paper of January 13th, 1727, he commences a leading article thus: "Tho' I readily confess, I have found no other Cause to *love* any of the *Farleys* besides the positive Command of loving my *Enemies*, yet I assure the Reader I have born such Injuries from 'em without Complaint, or seeking a Redress, as a perfect *Moses* would scarce endure."*

Thorns in the editorial cushion presented themselves from time to time, such as the non-arrival of the "latest news," and the hurried substitution of some other paragraph.

* There is a remarkably angry, intemperate, and abusive letter of his, addressed "To Mr. Edward Farley," and printed in his *Journal* of April 26th, 1728; in which he alludes to him as "Farley the Third; on whom I confess a double portion of the Spirit of your modest Predecessors rests." It appears that Farley had announced in his paper the publication of "the dying words," &c., of some criminals, who were about to be executed, and added, "No other Printer is allow'd the Liberty of conversing with them." This Brice contended was prejudicial to his character.

Much more important was a complaint made to him, and noted in his issue of July 28th, 1727, as "the Want of so pleasing a Variety of late as formerly fill'd this Journal." The taste for "variety" having been mainly created by him, had now become a necessity. A similar complaint is recorded in the No. (200) for February 7th, 1729, and was soon afterwards followed by a long series of letters on abstruse religious topics! But the greatest trouble that befel him during his career as editor, commenced in the year 1727. The story of it is unfortunately a lengthy one.

In the earliest memoir of him¹ it is stated that "about the year 1722 . . . he was solicited by the debtors in the city and county prisons to lay before the public the grievances which they laboured under from the severity of their keepers." This is adopted in the latest memoir also.⁴ But Brice himself affirms it took place "in July and August, 1727" (*Freedom*, 121*); and was probably due to the circumstance that in his *Weekly Journal* of March 24th of that year, he had devoted nearly a page and a half to the reprint of some papers that had been presented to Parliament, on behalf of insolvent debtors. The subject remained unnoticed by him any further, until the following note appeared in his *Journal* of September 1st, 1727:

"The Grievances of some cruelly oppressed Prisoners in St. Thomas Ward came too late to be inserted this Week; but unless I have it under their own Hands that they are amply redress'd, they may depend on having them in my next; Which will scarce make much for the Keeper's Credit or Advantage."

Accordingly, in the issue of the following week (Sept. 8th), appeared "*The Case of Mr. Charles Lanyon, &c. of Newlyn, near Penzance, Merchant, a Prisoner in the Sheriff's Ward in St. Thomas's,*" with a copy of a letter that had been sent "To Mr. George Glanvill," the keeper of the St. Thomas's

* The subject had been brought under his attention at a still earlier date, as the following transcript of an advertisement, that appeared in his *Journal* of September 16th, 1726, will show:

"*This Day is publish'd, An Appeal to Justice, and the Impartial World. Being a true and faithful Narrative, and just Complaint, of the unparallel'd and unjustifiable Barbarity and hellish Cruelty exercis'd on L. Hill, Esq; a Prisoner in the County Goal of Somerset, at Ilchester, by the Keeper thereof and his Adherents. Written by himself.—Dabit Deus his quoque Funem.* Printed and sold by A. Brice, as also by John Dinning, publisher of Brice's *Journal* in Taunton, 1726. Price Two-pence."

Nearly a century afterwards—in 1821—a memorable investigation took place at the same gaol to enquire into the conduct of the gaoler, W. Bridle, and his treatment of the prisoners. The evidence was published in an 8vo. vol. during the same year, with an etched full-length portrait of the gaoler by George Cruikshank.

Prison, "From the Dark-house, Aug. 3," but had been disregarded by him; and a postscript commencing, "We have desired Mr. Brice, in pure Commiseration, to insert this Account in his Journal, that the World may be made sensible of our Sufferings." These were prefaced by some remarks of Brice, written in his vigorous and trenchant style.

In the account of some coronation festivities at Exeter, recorded by Brice in his paper of the following October 20th, he praised the manner in which "Mr. Bar. Dally, Keeper of Southgate Prison," behaved to his prisoners, and adding, "Be it known to my Country-Readers, that that very worthy Governour is as distinguishable for Humanity, Good-nature, Charity and Indulgence to the poor People under his Guard and Care, as *He in St. Thomas's* is for Revenge, Savageness, Cruelty, and a long *Et cætera* of abhorred Things which want a Name."*

It was evident that Glanvill soon placed the matter in the hands of his lawyer, and commenced to take legal proceedings against Brice, as the *Journal* of November 10th contained the following remarkable paragraph:

"advertisement

Exon. *This is to give Notice, that the poor Printer hereof, who expects never to be free from Trouble 'till Death or Dishonesty takes him under Tutelage, was last Week (as twere) sued by the most merciful Governour of St. Thomas's. But he dares lay 2d. ob. neither he nor his Council knows for what. Well! the Comfort is he fears none but God;*

Neque ignari fumus ante malorum.

O passi graviores, dabit Deus his quoque finem.

However, being just going to drink, Mr. Grand Vile, my humble Service t' ye!"

Up to the end of the year Brice printed several leaders on the subject, a caustic and vituperative one of Dec. 22nd being reprinted in the following issue. In his paper of August 16th, 1728, he accused Glanvill (under a veiled name, but in a subsequent reprint in his real one) that "he rode about the Country, visiting many of the Gentlemen impanell'd on the Jury, to endeavour to prejudice and influence them in his favour." The action was apparently adjourned from time to time "on frivolous pretences,"

* Thirty years after this, in his *Grand Gazetteer*, he wrote in similar terms of Southgate, but made no allusion to the other. (540.) James Neild gave a distressing account of St. Thomas's ward in his *Account of Prisons for Debtors* in 1808, 200-203; and as late as 1839, it was much complained of in a pamphlet "by an Englishman."

according to Brice, but on coming to trial it was decided against him, and the fine and costs amounted to a large sum.*

Commenting on Brice, Dr. Oliver² remarks, that his libel on Glanvil "is wantonly disgusting—his defence of that libel excited the regret of every friend of propriety." That Brice's language was strong, outspoken, coarse, and at times savage, no one will dispute—he was undoubtedly a hard hitter, and went straight to the mark. In reflecting upon him, due regard must be had to the coarse period in which he lived. Let any one read the accounts given by the debtors themselves, and others;† and if they even make allowance for some exaggeration, let them ask themselves whether anything could be more revolting than Glanvil's treatment of the debtors, and whether Brice's language could be too strong in his condemnation of such practices. In such a case, truth, if vigorously expressed, was a libel in law. His active sympathies were roused by, what appeared to him to be, the gross injustice and cruelty of the Keeper of the St. Thomas's ward. His enthusiasm never wavered in the support of what he deemed to be a good cause; and no subject did he prosecute more vigorously than that of rendering some assistance to the confined debtors. Under such circumstances, trouble, expense, and future consequences, were never considered by him.

We do not hear any more of Brice for some time after he had lost his cause; but on February 27th, 1730, his *Journal* contained some information about him in the shape of a leading article. After alluding to "the vile Prosecution commenc'd against" him "near Two Years and an Half since," he thus refers to the consequences of the Action:

"I've the sad Choice of paying that other *Honourable Man* my gentle Adversary above an Hundred Pound, go to Goal (*the Den of Legion Woe!*), or retire from and guard against the horrid Catchpoles rapacious Clutches. The first none who can't instruct me honestly to get the Sum (*For, like Brutus, I can raise no Money by vile Means*), will, I presume, advise me to comply with; the second I've a natural Antipathy against; and therefore the latter, how much soever it rub against the grain, I'm forced to submit to."

Then follows the first announcement of his Poem:

"During my Recess, I've made a shift to hammer out a Poem in *blank . . . Verse . . .* and to it given the Title *Freedom*."

* The history of the affair, including reprints of the letters, &c., that were published in his weekly papers, appeared in "The Author's Case," appended to his *Freedom*, 121-128.

† *Vide Brice's Weekly Journal*, Sept. 8th, 1717, July 19th, Dec. 6th, 1728.

To this succeeds a copy of the preface, addressed "to the Candid Reader;" an analysis of the poem, and dedicatory verses, all of which were printed in the subsequent volume. In the following Journal (March 6th) the following advertisements appeared:

"Ready for the Press, to be printed by Subscription, and publish'd with Speed, if suitable Encouragement be given.

"FREEDOM: A Poem, in blank Verse, form'd after the Model of Mr. Phillips's SPLENDID SHILLING; written in Time of Recess from the Claws of Bailiffs, and devouring bloody Fangs of Gaolers, by Andrew Brice."*

*"Rich Freedom's Joys I sing; unparallel'd
Distress and wail of Wretch in dismal Hole
For Debt absconding, who perpetual dreads
Close Vestigation of Sh'riff's Blood-hound cry.*

[The opening lines of the Poem.]

"Printed by and for the Author, Price Half-a-Crown: No Money being desired 'till the Book deliver'd, and a List of the Subscribers Names, &c. (except of such as shall enjoin the contrary), to be printed with the Work. Such as are really and in Deed my Friends, willing to promote the said Piece, or give me a kind small Lift, are desired to send in their own, together with the Names of such as they shall be able influence to join with 'em, as soon as possible; and their Favours shall be ever gratefully acknowledg'd by their
humble Servant
Andrew Brice."

"Already printed, to be publish'd very soon, (perhaps in the approaching Assize Week) if Money must of Necessity be rais'd.

"BEHEMOTH, A Poem; Or, The horrid bloody Monster of St. Thomas's (an Island, scituate directly under the Æquinoctial Line, between Guinea and Lower Æthiopia, subject to the Portuguese): A Satirical Invective in Imitation of Ovid's against Ibis.

[Quotations from Virgil and Horace]

"Written also and printed by Andrew Brice, Price One Shilling.

*"Tho' form'd by Nature in her stingy Mood,
Nor yet adopted by th' Harmonious God;
Tho' in my Breast faint glows his rapt'rous Fire,
With Hands untaught to quill the twanging Lyre,
Me Indignation's Force compels to write,
And makes a Not-born Poet out of Spite."*

* John Phillips, an imitator of Milton; better known in the Western Counties for his Poem on "Cider."

The advertisement of *Behemoth*, was repeated in the *Journal* of March 13th, and then ceased. If even "already printed," it is doubtful whether publication ever took place. Possibly the title of it induced his friends to advise him to withdraw all further notice of it.

The advertisement of *Freedom* appeared weekly, with but slight modification until June 5th of the same year, when the following was substituted for it:

"*Exon*. The Poem intitled *FREEDOM*, which had been retarded through the sad Effects of the Sickness and Death of some of my Nearest and Dearest Relatives, in my own Family,

[*These are thy Triumphs, thy Exploits, O Cæsar!*]
is at length compleatly printed; and, as soon as an Account of my CASE, &c. is also done, to be annex'd thereto, (which, God willing, will be in about a week's Space more) will be ready to be deliver'd to the Subscribers. . . .
A. Brice."

This allusion to his domestic loss, is explained more fully in the Appendix to *Freedom*, 126-7, in the following passage:

"During my Absconsion I wrote and printed this present Poem; which would have appear'd sooner, had not my Confinement, and Grief for the Loss of a dear Mother, follow'd by that of one of the best of Wives Man was ever bless'd in (whose Days I'm too sure were shorten'd partly by this Calamity) impair'd my Health and Strength."

A modified form of the original advertisement was printed in the *Journal* of June 19th, with the heading, "Next Monday will be publish'd;" and in that of June 26th, as "Just publish'd." The work itself bore the following title:

"*FREEDOM*: A Poem, Written in Time of Recess from the rapacious Claws of Bailiffs, and devouring Fangs of Goalers, By Andrew Brice, Printer. To which is annexed The Author's Case. [Quotation from Ovid.] At *Exon* Printed by and for the Author, at his Printing-Office opposite to *St. Stephen's Church*, in the *High-street*. 1730. (Price 2s. 6d.)"

Small 8vo. Dedicatory Letter "To the Honourable *Edw. Hughes*, Esq.; Judge-Advocate General, &c.," dated "Exon, June 18th, 1730," and signed "Andrew Brice." 4 ls. "Address to the Reader," also signed by him, i-iiij. "Preface By a Friend," *J. F.*, iv-vj. Dedicatory Lines by Edmund Pearse, and a "List of such Subscribers as disdain'd not to have their Names appear" (62 names, 7 of Clergymen), vij-x. The Poem, 1-120. "The Author's Case," 121-128.

For refusing to pay the Amount of Damages in his lost Action, some authorities declare that he was confined in

prison for a time. Polwhele⁵ (probably the earliest authority for it) affirmed the poem on *Freedom* was "written during a short confinement in prison for some neglect to discharge the stamp duties;" but there is no evidence that he showed any such neglect. We know that he showed some laxity in not procuring a proper supply of stamped papers soon after he had started his *Weekly Journal* in 1725, but this could not have procured his imprisonment. Dr. Oliver² favoured the opinion of his confinement, as shown in the following paragraph: "Mr. Brice was also the author of a poem on liberty (written, it is said, whilst confined in Southgate prison)." (It is possible the Dr. had not had the opportunity of examining a copy, otherwise he would have mentioned it under its proper title of *Freedom*. Moore³ and Curwen⁶ also use the word "liberty.") "For seven years he remained under restraint" is the statement in Mr. Courtney's Memoir.⁴

Nevertheless, the following account, contained in the *Universal Magazine* Memoir,¹ is apparently the correct one: "Mr. Brice, for seven years, was, under the necessity . . . of submitting to a voluntary confinement in his own house." Of his intention to do so we have the evidence of his own words, already quoted from his *Journal* of February 27th, 1730. In the number for the 25th of the following September, the communication of a correspondent is prefaced by some remarks from "R. F.," commencing thus: "The following Letter, which gives a good Account of honest Mr. BRICE'S Case, the unfortunate Printer at *Exeter*, coming to my Hands in his Absence (or rather I should say in his Exile)," &c. The next number (October 2nd) contained a communication too singular in its character to be passed over, and is here quoted in full:

"*Econ.* We the Servants of Mr. *Brice* (who can't help loving and respecting him so well as readily to expose even our Lives in his behalf and Vindication) to prevent Prejudice to his Affairs from the last Weeks Account of his *Absence* from us, by its being suggested or surmised that Business can't be performed so entirely to Satisfaction by *Our Selves*—humbly beg Liberty to declare, That tho' We (or perhaps any other *one Man* in *England*, without Exception) can't pretend, *in all respects*, to his Perfection in the Art of Printing, &c. yet dare we undertake the Performance at least equally to any in these Parts: And, as our Master's *Materials* are infinitely superiour to those of the others here, will do any Work that requires it much more beautifully than *theirs* will admit of. But we hope soon to enjoy our dear Master's Company and Direction. *Amen!*"

Number 320, for April 30th, 1731, is remarkable for a new heading, below which are a couple of very deep black lines. Each measures five-sixteenths of an inch. No explanation of their presence is given. There is a short leader, commencing, "I had determined, in Opposition to the Motto of my (*written*) *FREEDOM*, that nothing of mine more should go into the City without Myself; that is, to publish no Scribble of my own 'till I had regain'd the Liberty of my Body as well as *capacious Mind* (as my Friend calls it);" but on the receipt of a letter from a correspondent he alters his mind, and, after a few remarks upon the latter, he gives a long metrical description of Exeter on a Sunday morning. From his article I make the following extracts, which will serve to show that Andrew took advantage of Sunday—a day on which debtors could not be arrested—to walk into the city:

"I can't take upon me to swear that they so much as open their Shops in *Exeter*; finding 'em all close shut every day that I behold 'em. . . . No man, I believe, makes more of the *Sunday* than I do. . . .

"By every Shop a solemn Closure's worn,
And reverent Silence *Sacred* speaks the *Morn*. . . .
Absconding Debtor hails the blissful Dawn,
Snuffs free the Breeze, and dreadless seeks the Lawn.
ANDREW's ramm'd Petronels unprov'd lie,
Nor hangs defensive Steel upon his Thigh. . . .
Fell Catchpoles now their own Restraint deplore,
And glum aloof beshrew his open Door. . . ."

The allusion to the armed defence of his house during the remaining six days, we must accept for what it is worth.

In a footnote at page 58 of his *Freedom* he relates how a bailiff named Spry made an attempt to entrap him:

"This *Spry*, who is famous among the Bailiffs and their Masters for Courage, Force, and Stratagem, I receiv'd authentick Advice from divers Quarters, had propos'd to have visited me (a Wolf in the Shepherd's Dress) in the Habit of a Clergyman, on Pretence of having a Book to print.—But 'twas as well for himself as me, perhaps, that his Design was blown."

The profits derived from the sale of his poem were said to have been sufficiently great "to enable him to compound" with his creditors, "and to regain his liberty."¹ With the date of this we are unacquainted, but it must have been later than April, 1731. The same authority declares the work "in general did not please;" if this were so, the large sale

recorded would appear to be due, not to the merits of the poem, but to the wide sympathy for the author in his troubles. According to Curwen,⁶ "after regaining his freedom his business largely increased."

It is here necessary to draw attention to the copy of a newspaper in the possession of Mr. A. Wallis, having this heading:

"Brice's *Weekly Collection of Intelligence*
Exon, Friday, December the 8th, 1738. Numb. cxxxiv."

It is an ordinary stamped paper, but without imprint; otherwise it presents no marked difference from other newspapers of the period. If published weekly, its number, 134, would carry No. 1 back to May, 1736. Whether Brice altered the name of his weekly journal, and after several years reverted to the old one, which it certainly bore at a later date, is all conjecture. All that can be said about the one number is, that it is unique, and a puzzle.*

The first printing press in Cornwall was set up by him at Truro, "about the year 1740."† At the same time he retained his Exeter business. The new venture did not apparently answer, as he soon gave it up. The only publication of his Truro press with which we are acquainted is the following: "Poems on Several Occasions. By Nicholas James [Quotation from *Petronius*]. Truro: Printed by Andrew Brice, 1742." 12mo; Dedication, Preface, and Contents, five leaves; Poems, 1-126; List of Subscribers, 127-148.

The Dedication is dated September 1st, 1742.‡

From the outset of his career, Brice exhibited a great liking for the drama, as well as for the company of actors, to whom he was ever ready to show active kindness, and to entertain at his table. "Nor did he refrain," it is said, "on any emergency, to appear in any humorous character."¹ As early as 1727, his *Journal* for that year contains several proofs of his dramatic leanings. In the number for March 3rd is an advertisement, that "By the *Bath* Company of Comedians, *Servants to His Grace the Duke of Grafton*, At the *Seven-Stars*, at the Bridge Foot in *St. Thomas's*, on Monday next, being the 6th Inst. will be Acted a Diverting Comedy, call'd *The*

* Its title is altogether unknown to local literary men. Seventeen years later, Thomas Brice was asserted by his uncle Andrew to have started two papers that turned out failures. He could scarcely have been in business in 1736.

† Vide *Universal Magazine*,¹ Curwen,⁶ and Worth, *Op. cit.* 503; Timperley, *Op. cit.* 665, notes simply, "1740. Printing introduced into the town of Truro" by "Andrew Brice."

‡ The author was "a writing master." (*Bibl. Cornub.* i. 263.)

Busic-Body. . . . With a New Prologue for the Opening, written by *A. Brice*, and spoken by *Mr. Copen*." In that for March 31st, the same company is announced to perform Dryden's tragedy, "*Edipus, King of Thebes*," with a "Prologue at the Opening the Play-House at the Seven Stars. By *A. B.* Spoken by *Mr. Copen*." This prologue (of fifty-nine lines printed at length) was written at the request of the company, and Brice adds, may serve to "gratify some few Gentlemen (if they think it *worth Two-pence*) who have desired me to give them Copies." Another theatrical announcement, in the number for April 21st, concludes: "*With a comic Epilogue, spoken by Mr. Howell, in the Person of Landlord Boniface, written by A. Brice*."

In the *Journal* of the following week there appeared a paragraph of the intended performance of "the Historical Play of *K. Lear* [*sic*] and his *Three Daughters*," with a long recommendatory notice by Brice, commencing thus :

"Seeing this excellent Tragedy has been studied and got up partly at my Request, I think it my Duty, for the sake of the *Town* (at least such in it as are Friends to the Theatre) as well as the *Company*, to recommend it as much as in me lies."

The players had better cause to bear his name in grateful remembrance, in his advocacy of the claims of their profession, during a circumstance that happened in 1745. In 1739—the year in which he commenced open-air preaching—John Wesley visited Exeter, and for the first time addressed a city audience on the subject of Methodism. He repeated his visit in 1743, and there can be little doubt that his labours were attended with great success. Some time after this visit, the local players having been "prosecuted as vagrants, and obliged to relinquish their theatre" (situated in Waterbeer Street*), it was purchased by the Methodists, and converted into a chapel. At this juncture Brice took up the cause of the players, and in 1745 published a poem, entitled "*The Play-house Church, or new Actors of Devotion*."¹ In its early days, Methodism had to endure much persecution in Exeter, as in all other places, its followers being looked upon as little else than fanatics by those who differed

* In his *Story of the Drama in Exeter* (1887), Mr. W. Cotton mentions the year 1749, "when the first Thespian temple was raised in Exeter. It was situate in Waterbeer Street, but of its history there is the scantiest of records." (Page 1.) The foregoing account assigns an earlier date. It is a matter of regret that Mr. Cotton's work does not commence until 1783. When the early history of the Exeter stage is written, Andrew Brice should occupy a prominent position in it.

from them in opinions. The early biographer of Brice thus continues: "The mob were so spirited up by this poetical invective that the Methodists were soon obliged to abandon the place to its former possessors, whom Mr. Brice now protected, by engaging them as his covenant-servants to perform gratis." His poem certainly stirred up the passions of the mob; and according to a paragraph that appeared in the London *Morning Post* of May 16th, 1745 (quoted in *Reminiscences of Methodism in Exeter*, by John Wesley Thomas [1875], 7, 8), they created a disgraceful disturbance, and acted with great ferocity to the Methodists, both on entering and on leaving their chapel.

All the playing fraternity who visited Exeter would no doubt become acquainted with him, even to a late period of his life. Of this we have the following curious testimony recorded in the *Universal Magazine*:¹

"He was as singular in his speech, as remarkable in his manner and dress; which induced Mr. King to exhibit him in the character of Lord Ogleby which Mr. Garrick introduced in the *Clandestine Marriage*."

In Dr. Oliver's account² it is stated, that on the completion of the comedy in 1766, "there was some hesitation what tone would be most suitable to Lord Ogleby—it was decided at last that Mr. King should assume Mr. A. Brice's."* The part—an important one—was originally intended for Garrick; but on his declining it, Mr. King was requested to undertake it. He at first hesitated, but subsequently consented, and performed it with so much success as to bring him into prominent notice.†

We have now to consider the work upon which his claim to literary celebrity principally rests—*The Grand Gazetteer*—and upon which he expended a large amount of time and of money. ("The very Books by us us'd in the Composition . . . cost far above 100*l*."‡) At what period he first conceived the idea of it is unknown, nor when he commenced

* This anecdote is not related in any of the *Lives of Garrick*, or in any standard works on the drama that have been examined. A memoir of King in *Theatrical Biography* (1772), i. 77–81, makes no allusion to it. In another, in the *Thespian Dictionary* (unpaged), published in 1802, "the tremulous, feigned voice" assumed by him as Lord Ogleby, "has been said to be an imitation of a very respectable printer at Exeter."

† "Mr. King . . . in Lord Ogleby . . . seemed to give a relief and glow to the character, which were not intended by the author. This artful and ingenious excess, this high-colouring, was not entitled to indulgence, but to praise." (*Memoirs of P. Stockdale*, (1809), i., 313–4.)

‡ Wrapper of part 44, *vide* Appendix.

to collect materials for it. He remarked, that after he had composed the *Mobiad* in 1738, illness and trouble "overwhelm'd me long ere I conceiv'd an Idea of any Topographic Dictionary," and he complains, that it "haunted" him "during near Five Years together, without Relaxation." According to the *Universal Magazine*,¹ it was begun in 1746, and completed in 1757 "as far as it now appears;" *i.e.*, in 1781; but it is doubtful if either of these dates be correct. Dr. Oliver² is certainly wrong in stating "about the year 1756, he commenced his astonishing publication." Again, Curwen³ is in error in affirming it "occupied ten years in publication." It was issued in forty-four one shilling numbers, of eight sheets each (= 32 pages), enclosed in coloured wrappers. The bound copy in the Bodleian Library contains the wrappers of the last two parts, each containing much information about the work.*

The wrapper of No. 43 is dated January 25th, 1755, and as it presents this statement, "'Tis not yet quite 4 years since issued Number 1," this takes us back to 1751 as the year in which it commenced. There is no printed date on No. 44, but "1755" has been added in writing.

No. 43 opens with this promise: "The rest of this Dictionary, with the Index, short Introduction, Title-page, and All, will be deliver'd, stitch'd together, as soon as good Speed may be." But this was never carried into effect; and although the bound volume remained unpublished for four years, it was sent out destitute of all excepting the title-page, here transcribed at length:

"The Grand Gazetteer, or Topographic Dictionary, both General and Special, and Antient as well as Modern, &c. Being A succinct but comprehensive Geographical Description of the various Countries of the habitable known World in *Europe, Asia, Africa, and America*; more especially of *Great Britain and Ireland*, and all the *British* Settlements abroad, or where we have Trade, Commerce, or Correspondence. Shewing The Situation, Extent, and Boundaries, of all the Empires, Kingdoms, Republicks, Provinces, Cities, Chief Towns &c. with their several Climates, Soils, Produces, Animals, Plants, Minerals, &c. the Government, Traffick, Arts, Manufactures, Customs, Manners, and Religion, of the divers Nations; and the Vast many admirable (some of them stupendous) Curiosities, both *Natural* and *Artificial*; the

* Through the kindness of Mr. W. H. Allnutt, of the Bodleian Library, I am able to give a transcript of their contents in the Appendix to this paper. They are characteristic of Brice's *quieter* style of writing. No other copies of the original wrappers have as yet been brought under notice.

most remarkable Events, Accidents, and Revolutions, in all past Ages; &c. &c.

"Aptly and requisitely interspers'd with many Thousands of Uncommon Passages, strange Occurrences, critical Observations (as well *sacred as prophane*) and proper Relations; which most *agreeably surprise* and *delightfully inform*. *Diligently extracted and as accurately as possible compiled from the most esteemed Voyagers [sic], Travellers, Geographers, Historians, Criticks, &c. extant.*

"A Work in its Form entirely New, very necessary for Numbers, and serviceable to *all degrees* of Readers—(*not excepting the most Learned, and with Libraries best furnish'd*)—Readers not only of News-Papers, Magazines, &c. &c. &c. but of Histories of *former Ages* or the *present*, the Classicks, and even the Sacred Writ itself; the Antique Articles being collected either from Original Authors or the best Translators, and divers Learned Commentators on the Bible, &c. &c. By Andrew Brice of Exeter.

"Printed by and for the Author, at his Printing-House in *Northgate-street Exon.* MDCCLIX." 1 vol., folio; Title, 1 leaf; 1-1446. No preface or index.

In the same year the same edition was issued by a London firm, with a new and entirely different title-page:

"A Universal Geographical Dictionary; or, Grand Gazetteer; of General, Special, Antient and Modern Geography . . .

"A Work, not only agreeably amusing, but also instructive, and of singular Utility to Persons of every Rank and Station. Illustrated by A general Map of the World, particular ones of the different Quarters, and of the Seat of War in Germany. By Andrew Brice of Exeter. In two Volumes. Vol. I. [Vol. II.]

"London: Printed for, and sold by, J. Robinson and W. Johnston, in *Ludgate-street*; P. Davey and B. Law in *Ave-Mary-Lane*; and H. Woodgate and S. Brooks, in *Pater-Noster Row.* MDCCLIX."

This issue differs from the former in possessing a second title-page to the second volume. The division of the work into two volumes is an arbitrary one. One copy of the second that was examined commenced at 761 (signature 9 G), and another at 757 (signature 9 F.) The first contains an allegorical frontispiece of "The Four Quarters of the World," engraved by C. Grignion, from a design by H. Gravelot; and eight maps, folded, engraved by J. Gibson.*

* This issue is included in a list of books in *Gentleman's Magazine*, xxix. (1759), 338, and is priced £2 2s.

No maps or frontispiece were included in any of the volumes containing Brice's own title-page, and the reason is naively given by him on the wrapper to No. 43. (*Vide* Appendix.) Their absence would rather indicate that the Exeter volume was issued prior to the London one.*

Excepting these two issues of the same edition, with dissimilar titles, and by different publishers, enquiries have entirely failed to elicit proofs of the publication of any other. We find, however, in the *Biblioth. Cornubiensis*, the following three works on the same subject, assigned to Brice as the author:

- (1) "The Geographical Dictionary, or Grand Gazetteer. Exeter, Bryce, 1751, fol.
- (2) "The Topographic Dictionary of the World. . . . Exeter, printed for the Author, 1759, thk fol.
- (3) "A Universal Geographical Dictionary, or Grand Gazetteer. Maps. Exeter, Bryce, 1760, 2 vols. fol. 42/-.

"Note.—The above three works contain very full accounts of Cornwall." (i. 42.)

None of these give the title of Brice's own issue, but the third is that of the London publisher, and the first is an approximation to it. Possibly the latter may have been copied from a preliminary announcement of the work, or from the wrapper of the first part, as the date 1751, was the year when the publication commenced. Probably also different titles were issued by various firms on purchasing a number of copies in sheets. This is indicated in several ways; *e.g.* (1) The name appearing as Bryce in two instances—a mode of spelling he never adopted; (2) The date of No. 3 reported to be 1760, and so given in several standard bibliographical works, whereas copies with the same title examined lately are dated 1759.†

Brice's great work cannot be passed over without a few observations upon it. It was one of the earliest *Gazetteers* published in England, and remained for a time the most important. Writing fifty years after its completion, Dyer, the Exeter bookseller, in 1805, termed it at that date "the best, most comprehensive, and even the most learned *Gazetteer* in the English language;"‡ and even at the present day much information may be gleaned from it. No doubt

* Maps are occasionally found in copies of the Exeter volume, and must be considered as after insertions.

† I have examined a large number of copies of the completed work, and the title-page has always borne the date 1759. I have not seen one of 1760.

‡ *Restoration of the Ancient Modes of Bestowing Names*, &c., 105.

he had a good deal of assistance in the compilation, more especially of those places needing only short notices. Some of the contributors' names are mentioned; *e.g.* in the description of Plymouth, he remarks about the middle of it, "Thus far of this Article was written by (a Native of the Place) the Rev. Mr. *Payne*, lately deceas'd . . . who also drew up that of MONSERRAT." The second portion is from his own pen, with all his marked peculiarities. Although very few of the articles are of undue length, that of Exeter is a marked exception, as it extends to fifteen pages (Europe is restricted to two, so is Plymouth, while London has seven), and is by far the longest in the work. The reason of this he gives at the commencement of his description as follows:

"As this City is not only the Place of my Nativity and Abode, but that wherein this Work is entirely executed, and where above 4 out of 6 of my first Subscribers to and Promoters of it have their Dwellings,—its neither unnatural for nor blameable in me, that I (as it is indeed expected from me) make its Article of greater Length than those of some greater Cities." (537.)

That a talented writer offered to contribute the one on Exeter is thus stated by Polwhele:⁵ "It were to be wished he had accepted and inserted a very good account of the City of *Exeter* (never yet published) by Dr. *Lyttelton*, then Dean of Exeter [1748–1763], afterwards Bishop of Carlisle: this, I am well assured, was offered him, but refused, he insisting on the honour of describing his own native city himself." It was evidently his favourite work; and although he is said to have lost money by it (the London bookseller, to whom he sent copies, having "cheated" him, and become "bankrupt"), he informed Dyer, shortly before his death, that "one consolation, however, remained," as he "lived to see his book grow in public estimation, and increase in price."*

His last work—last with respect to time of publication, but not as to the period when it was written—was the local one, with this title:

"The Mobiad: or, Battle of the Voice. An Heroi-Comic Poem, sportively satirical: Being a briefly historical, natural and lively, free and humorous, Description of an *Exeter* Election. In Six Canto's. Illustrated with such Notes as for *some* Readers may be supposed useful.

* *Op. cit.* 10. According to the same authority, "the late Mr. Jackson, of Exeter, left a copy of Mr. Brice's work, in which he has inserted some thousands of MS. observations."

"By Democritus Juvenal, Moral Professor of Ridicule, and plaguy-pleasant Fellow of Stingtick College; *Vulgarly* Andrew Brice. Exon. [Long Latin quotation.]

"Exon: Printed and Sold by Brice and Thorn: And sold also by T. Davies, in Great Russel Street, Covent Garden, London. MDCCLXX." 8vo. 1 lf. xviii. 178.*

It was written in 1738, and the original preface, with a second dated 1770, are included in it. It is reported¹ to have "met with very few admirers;" and if this were so, it would be indicative of his peculiar style being on the wane in the estimation of the public. This is rather contra-indicated by the fact of its having a large sale. It describes the rough humour and rowdyism of the mob during elections at that period.†

Dr. Oliver² affirms that "the mixed vein of pleasantry and sarcasm which pervades the poem had the happiest effect of shaming the lower orders into more civilized manners." But this improvement seems to have been a case of *post hoc* rather than of *propter hoc*. Brice states that in the interval between the time the poem was written and its publication, the conduct of the mob had materially improved, more especially in the instance of the boys, or "junior mob;" and he adds, "Such their Reformation may possibly have been owing, in a measure, to better Tutorage, and stricter Discipline at School; the Charity-Schools not excepted." (xv.)‡

He also published *The Agreeable Gallimaufry; or, Matchless Medley*, "a great part of which were the effusions of his own lively imagination."¹ According to Mr. Davidson, "a humorous, ironical tract," entitled, *A Short Essay on the Scheme lately set on foot for Lighting and Keeping Clean the Streets of the City of Exeter, &c.*, published in 1755, was "apparently" from his pen.§ The question whether he was one of the authors of the *Exmoor Scolding and Courtship* is considered in another paper.

In addition to his eccentric diction, discursiveness, inflated style, and tendency to bombast, ejaculatory sentences, &c., his writings were peculiar for containing many newly-coined

* Some copies bear the following variant in the imprint:

"Printed for T. Davies, in Great Russel Street, Covent Garden, London. Sold by B. Thorn in Exeter, and other Booksellers in the West. MDCCLXX."

† The date is fixed by the footnote at p. xi. of the first preface as "that which preceded the mayoralty of Mr. Arthur Culme, which began in 1737."

‡ Every local contest appears to have been carried on in the same rough spirit. Brice instances that the election of a Guardian of the Poor was "carry'd on, oftentimes, with more Noise and Fury than in some Places perhaps that of Representatives in Parliament."

§ *Bibl. Devon.* 26.

words; *e.g.*, on the first page after the title of the *Mobial*, is this opening sentence: "Go, thou playsome, slily-snickering, dry-bobbing Son of Phantasy." The writer in 1781¹ states, these words "in Devonshire are still called Bricisms." Here are some other examples: "flim-sinewed, detorting, elboic, glouting, spuddling, plorant, spumiferous, vacive-noddle, cogitabundation, armipotence, scranch"—some of these are worthy of the author of *Alice in Wonderland*. Partly from this cause, his poetry is by no means easy reading.

In 1763, W. Andrews and R. Trewman, who were employed in his printing-office, the former as journeyman, the latter as an apprentice, had a violent quarrel with their master, whom they left, and started a new paper on their own account, called *The Exeter Mercury; or, West Country Advertiser* (the first portion of the title being that of S. Farley's commenced fifty years before). The first number was issued on September 2nd, 1763, from "the House late the Mitre Tavern in Southgate Street." Number six contained an explanation of the quarrel, but in it there is no special reference to Trewman. Andrews asserted, that although promised by Brice in the most solemn manner, a share in the business, the latter had not only failed to carry out his promise, but had behaved badly to him in other ways. After a review of the case, Mr. R. Dymond came to this conclusion: "We gather from the *ex-parte* narrative that Brice may have been a somewhat arbitrary old man, but the case against him is not very strong in any important particular."*

Thomas Brice demands some notice from his connection with the *Exeter Journal*, more particularly with its closing fortunes. He was the nephew of Andrew Brice, and, like him, was a printer, author, and journalist. He first comes under observation on the occasion of a violent quarrel with his uncle, as related by the latter, in a long article in the *Old Exeter Journal and Weekly Advertiser*, of September 12th, 1755.

It appears that Andrew had been accused of laying information against his nephew for "a run of newspapers not stampd according as Law requires;" and "to this humble

* It is given at length by Mr. Dymond in *Trewman's Exeter Flying Post*, of January 1st, 1879; by Mr. Worth, *Op. cit.* 504; and in *Western Antiquary*, v. 163. The following somewhat reckless assertion will be found in PRIDHAM'S *Devonshire Celebrities* (32). "During his life he [A. Brice] was part proprietor of Trewman's Exeter paper, which was first published under the names of Brice and Trewman about the year 1750." Thirteen years later—1763—Trewman was an apprentice.

Charge" he pleads "not guilty. And Heaven sent me a fair Deliverance." He then narrates that his "pushing Nephew—(now again for the third Time—after having been twice forced to give it over) publishes a Paper" as well as himself, and to which he has no objection under ordinary circumstances. He complains of his vending "the Choicest . . . Pieces of Intelligence on *unstamped Paper*, Price a Halfpenny, a day or two preceding the stated time of" Andrew's "for Publication." Not only forestalling, but underselling him also. During the Assize week, a copy of this illegal paper was brought to Andrew the day before the publication of his own *Journal*, the "latest news" of which it probably anticipated, and he affirms he could not restrain his "just indignation" before the Members of his Household, which possibly included some of his Staff. Probably the information was laid by one of the latter, and Thomas Brice was convicted and fined £4. Andrew declared his intention of paying part of the penalty out of his own pocket. (Eight years later Andrew and Trewman alluded to this quarrel in a manner that can hardly be deemed creditable.)*

The Rev. J. Ingle Dredge's list records his first printed work in 1755, and others from 1783 to the close of the century,† of which the principal was Dunsford's *History of Tiverton*. He wrote and published in 1783, *The State Coach in the Mire*, a political tale in metre (small 4to 24. "Written just before the General Fast of February 8th, 1782"). Also, the commencement of *The History and Description, Ancient and Modern, of the City of Exeter*, in 1802. (Size 8vo. The only portions published were the title, 1-44, 77-216, of part 1, and 1-32 of part 2, with a cancel leaf, and one of "advertisement." One engraving by A. Brice, son of Thomas?) This in Lowndes' *Bibliographical Manual* is wrongly attributed to Andrew Brice.

About ten years after the quarrel with his nephew (according to Dr. Oliver),² and two after the one with Andrews and Trewman, Andrew, as we shall presently have to notice, resigned the active management of his journal, and it passed into the hands of the Thorn family; first of B. Thorn, afterwards of his son Richard, in whose possession it remained up to the time of his death in 1787. Throughout

* Information of Mr. Dymond, from a copy of the paper, in the possession of the Rev. W. Everitt, Rector of St. Lawrence, Exeter.

† *Western Antiquary*, v. 27, 30, 121; vi. 123, 125.

the eighteenth century the Thorn family occupied a prominent position in Exeter; first as booksellers, and at a late period as printers also. The first of whom we have record was "Nathanael" in 1713, and from 1717 to 1735 he resided in St. Peter's Churchyard.*

The next, Barnabas, we hear of first in 1743, and at the same address. From 1771, possibly some years earlier, he and his successors lived "opposite the Guildhall." Between 1769 and 1771 some works bear the imprint of "A. Brice and B. Thorn," and others of "B. Thorn & Son." His son Richard printed works during 1785 and the following year. His father had apparently resigned the printing department, judging by the following entry in the list of subscribers prefixed to W. Chapple's *Review of Risdon's Survey, &c.*, one of Richard's productions in the former year: "Mr. B. Thorn, of Exeter, bookseller, 25 copies."

Richard's death is thus recorded in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of May, 1787: "Mr. Rich. Thorne, printer at Exeter." (ii. 840.)

One work of that year bears the imprint "E. Thorn," probably the widow of Richard; and we hear of the Thorn family no more.†

On October 23rd, 1788, there appeared in the *Flying Post* an "advertisement offering for sale, the old-established newspaper, hitherto published by Richard Thorne, lately deceased . . . and formerly published by Andrew Brice. The purchaser could have the house opposite the Guildhall where the business was carried on."‡ It still retained the name it bore in 1755. It was purchased by Thomas Brice, who altered the title to *Brice's Old Exeter Journal, &c.*, and changed its place of publication to North Street. The copy for April 23rd, 1789, has below its heading "Volume LXXIII. No 3757. This Paper being in the 73d Year of its Age."§ The title was again changed on October 8th, 1789 (No. 3781), to *Brice and Co.'s Old Exeter Journal, &c.*, on the occasion of three other persons having joined T. Brice

* On a tombstone outside St. Mary Major's Church is this epitaph:
"Here lyeth y^e body of Nathaniel Thorn of this city Bookseller who departed this life Jnne 21. 1743. aged 48."

And in the register of burials of the same parish:

"1743. Sept. 8. Barnabas Thorn son of Nathaniel Thorn junr."

(Information of Mr. R. Dymond.)

† Rev. I. Dredge's list, *Western Antiquary*, v. vi.

‡ Mr. Dymond in Trewman's paper of February 5th, 1879.

§ As the journal was started in 1725, it would in 1789 be in its sixty-fifth year. Evidently the number was reckoned from the institution of Brice's first paper—the *Postmaster*—in 1717.

as partners.* It reverted to the name given to it in 1788, when T. Brice bought his partners out, as announced in the issue of May 12th, 1791, in a long editorial note containing many promises as to its future management. Before the close of the year, from causes now unknown, the *Journal* had ceased to be. The *Flying Post* of December 1st, 1791, contained an advertisement, announcing that Thomas Brice had disposed of the goodwill of his newspaper to Messrs. Trewman and Son; and thus the *Old Exeter Journal* closed its career, and became a thing of the past.†

T. Brice removed his place of business several times. In 1755 his address was Southgate Street, in 1783 Goldsmith Street, in 1785 "at the Conduit," 1789-1794 in North Street, and 1802 St. Martin's Lane.

Returning to Andrew Brice, we find him voting for William Mackworth Praed and Thomas Sewell, the unsuccessful candidates in the contested election that took place at Exeter in March, 1761.‡

Perhaps nothing evidenced his indomitable perseverance better than the manner in which he faced all the difficulties and hard work pertaining to the printing-office, from the outset of his career in it, throughout the whole of his life. When he commenced business, he is stated¹ to have had "fewer materials than can easily be imagined, having but one size of letter, namely Great Primer, for every sort of business, including a newspaper. To supply this deficiency he carved in wood the title of his newspaper, and in the same manner obviated every difficulty that could arise from a want of variety in his types."§ The heading of the *Postmaster* was certainly not printed from type, and this, with the accompanying woodcuts, was probably engraved by him.|| Up to a comparatively late period, and during the time his *Gazetteer* was in progress, he performed "all and every the Offices of a Master Printer, Corrector, &c.," when

* The announcement of the partnership is printed at length in *Western Antiquary*, vi. 123.

† Mr. R. Dymond, in *Trewman's Exeter Flying Post* of February 5th, 1879. It is noteworthy that the issue of November 24th was destitute of any allusion to the projected change.

‡ From the Poll Book, in the possession of Mr. J. G. Commin, bookseller, of Exeter. According to the same return, Thomas Brice recorded his vote for the same candidates.

§ Compare also Curwen⁶ and Courtney.⁴

|| *Vide* fac-simile. Polwhele⁵ alludes to his "skill and dexterity in preparing head and tail pieces, &c.," for the printers, prior to his commencing that business, and which he entered "partly on account" of this skill, but this is scarcely credible.

required. And owing to the loss of some of his staff, he was "sometimes actually forced to work at the Composition Part of the Occupation even at Midnight."*

Of all the many works printed by him, none approached the magnitude of the *Gazetteer*; and doubtless he was very proud of his literary bantling, as a creditable production of his printing-office, for in the article on Exeter contained in it he states, "That there is a good Printing-house here still this Work bears Testimony." (551.)

In one matter Brice appears to have forestalled a present-day notion; viz., the employment of females in his printing-office. "It was remarkable," says the writer in the *Universal Magazine*,¹ "that more women were brought up printers in his house than probably in all England before, it being no uncommon sight to see three or four in his office at a time."

Of his own family it is stated that he was married twice, but both his wives, and all his children, died before him.¹ Of the latter, the authority already noted⁷ enumerates the following:

"Andrew Brice the first Son of Andrew Brice was born Aug. 19. 1714.

"Andrew, the Second Son of Andrew Brice, Printer, was born on y^e 13th Day of August, 1717, being Tuesday between 11 and 12 of the Clock at Noon in the upper House adjoining the Black Lyons-Inn, in Southgate-street, Exon; and was baptized the 3^d Sunday following at James's Meeting-House, by the Revd. Mr. Lavington. †

"John, the 3^d Son of Andrew Brice, was born on the 9th of July 1719, being Thursday, about 11 a-Clock in the Forenoon, in the House of Mr. Browning, in the Court opposite to the Bear-Inn, in Southgate street, Exon; and was baptized by the Revd. Mr. James Pierce, in the said House.

"Sarah, the 4th Child (but first Daughter) of Andrew Brice, Printer aforesaid, was born March the 9th 172^o₁, a little past 7 a-Clock in the Morning, in the same House with John last mentioned; and was baptized on Wednesday Evening March 29th by the Revd. Mr. Joseph Hallet, jun^r."

* Wrapper to Part 44 in Appendix. *Vide* also the *Mobiad*, xiv.

† The Rev. John Lavington "a worthy and respectable minister of the City of Exeter, known to the world by some useful publications, but more renowned as the single champion for the truth, when Arianism arose and prevailed among the ministers of Exeter." (Memoir of his Son, Rev. Samuel Lavington, the well-known Independent minister of Bideford, 1752-1807, prefixed to *Sermons* iii. (1824) 5.)

The entry of Andrew, the second son, is corroborated as to date, by the following extract from the Register of Baptisms and Burials of George's Presbyterian Chapel, Exeter, preserved at Somerset House:

"Baptism "Andrew son of Andrew Brice Sept. 7, 1717 (Printer)."

Its correctness is testified to in another rather singular manner: According to the authority quoted⁷ he was baptized in James's Meeting-house, which stood in James Street, whereas the Register of George's Chapel, in Southgate Street, contains the record of his birth. This apparent discrepancy is reconciled by the circumstance that the former was taken down during the first half of the eighteenth century, while the latter was erected in 1760, and to it the Registers of the former were removed. Rocque's map of 1744, shows the site of the former, but not of the latter.*

All but the first are reported to have been born in a house in Southgate Street, and we possess ample evidence that the father was residing there throughout the period mentioned, 1717-1721.

Of his two wives we have his own testimony, that the first died in 1730, shortly previous to the publication of his poem on *Freedom*. (*Vide* p. 28.) Her name we do not know. She must have been the mother of all four of the above-mentioned children. Respecting his second wife, there are two circumstances to mention. 1. Between the years 1743 and 1746, several works were printed by "Andrew and Sarah Brice."† 2. In a volume belonging to the Library of the Devon and Exeter Institution, containing the memoir of A. Brice, by Dr. Oliver, the following MS. note was added by Mr. Pitman Jones:

"In St. Kerrians Register 1763 Hannah wife of Andrew Brice buried April 12."‡

Was Hannah the second or third wife? If the second, Sarah would probably be his daughter—22 years of age in 1743.

He changed his residence several times in the course of his career. As we have already noted, he started in

* Cf. JENKINS, *History of Exeter* (1806), 386.

† 1743-4 in *Western Antiquary*, v. 27, 119; vi. 121. 1746 in third edition of *Exmoor Scolding* (Bodleian Library).

‡ Confirmed by Mr. R. Dymond.

Southgate Street *circa* 1717, and from thence to High Street *circa* 1723. He was living at the latter address in 1731, but in 1740 he was in Gandy's Lane.* Between 1744 and 1746 he removed to Northgate Street, where he remained about twenty years. The last work recorded as having been printed there by him is Hoker's *Description of Exeter*, in 1765.†

Dr. Oliver records,² "About eight years before his death he had resigned his business to Barnaby Thorne, on an agreement to receive two guineas weekly every Monday morning." And as his death took place in 1773, this takes us back to 1765. That his really active career should close with the publication of Hoker's work, descriptive of the city in which he had been "born, bred, brought up, and . . . always dwelt in,"‡ seemed right and proper.

It is true that up to 1771,§ works bear the imprint of "A. Brice and B. Thorn," but he was evidently a passive partner at that time. The address of the new firm was "opposite the Guildhall," but Brice himself did not go there. On giving up his Northgate Street residence, he simultaneously gave up all active business, and "retired to a garden-house in the vicinity of his native city."¹ This Dr. Oliver describes² "on Northernhay, in a house lying under the City walls, and nearly opposite the New City Prison;" and another authority as being situated "where the Exeter Dispensary now stands."|| Northernhay had for many years been a favourite haunt of his. In 1730 he thus alludes to it in his poem on "Freedom:"

"Oh! distant from the solid Bliss of Thought
Contemplative on *Northern Terrace*, where
Each rev'rend conscious Elm in FREEDOM'S Path
My Steps could erst attest."

And in a footnote, "My Delight in Walking here alone in Depth of Night was literally true." (84. *Vide* also his *Gazetteer*, 547.)

* *Western Antiquary*, v. 114. It is remarkable that during that interval no work is recorded in the Rev. I. Dredge's list as having been printed by him.

† *Ibid.* v. 28.

‡ The *Mobiad*, xviii.

§ *Western Antiquary*, v. 29, 120; vi. 122.

|| Mr. R. Dymond, in *Trewman's Exeter Flying Post*, January 22nd, 1879. Mr. Courtney terms it "a country house near Exeter," scarcely an appropriate description.

In this house he died, on Sunday, November 7th, 1773,* of general decay, at the age of 83. "In his will he requested to be attended to his grave by his brother Masons of St. Johns lodge."² For many years he had been one of the leading, or rather the chief member of the fraternity in Exeter, and at the time of his death was the oldest master mason in Exeter, as well as the oldest master printer in England. The warrant of the St. John's Lodge bears date July 11th, 1732, and as late as the time when Brice was printing his *Gazetteer* was "the only constituted Lodge of Exeter Free-Masons." It was long held in the Apollo room of the "New Inn."† Its early records are wanting, but according to a minute-book (for the examination of which I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. I. Jerman), A. Brice is recorded as the continuous master of the lodge between July, 1757, and November, 1760, and held that office probably for a much longer period. The same book contains several proofs of the estimation in which he was held by the brethren.

His remains were removed to the Apollo room, where in lifetime he had so often presided at masonic gatherings. Here they lay in a kind of state for some days. To witness it the public were admitted at one shilling each, "the amount of which defrayed the expence of his funeral;"¹ fair evidence that he was in very poor circumstances at the time of his death. On Sunday, November 14th, "the morrow of St. Brice's day," the interment took place in St. Bartholomew's Churchyard. Two hundred members of various lodges, in masonic costume, and with all their regalia, together with several hundred of the inhabitants, walked in procession from the "New Inn" to the grave. A funeral elegy, written by G. E. Whitaker, and set to music by J. S. Gaudry, "was performed at the grave . . . accompanied by a Band of Music."‡ And yet, as Dr. Oliver observes, "notwithstanding the splendor of his funeral, no monumental stone records his memory," and at the present time the site of his grave is unknown. The following epitaph, recorded by Polwhele,⁵

* November 14th, according to some accounts, but this was the day of his funeral.

† This room is still preserved, and forms a portion of the business premises of Messrs. Green and Sons, in the High Street. A plan of the beautiful ceiling of this room is depicted in *Crocker's Sketches of Old Exeter* (1886), plate 47.

‡ An account of the proceedings, with the words of the elegy, appeared in the *Flying Post* of November 19th, 1773. The order of the procession is given in detail by Dr. Oliver;² and there is a short description of it in the *Universal Magazine*.¹

is deemed by him "not uncharacteristic," but in what is not very apparent:

"Here lies *Andrew Brice*, the old *Exeter* printer;
Whose life lengthen'd out to the depth of its winter,
Of his brethren masonic he took his last leave,
Inviting them all to a lodge at his grave:
Who, to shew their respect, and obedience, came hither;
(Or rather the mob and the masons together;)
Sung a hymn to his praise, in a funeral tone,
But disliking his lodging, return'd to their own."

The character of Andrew Brice, although very pronounced, is by no means an easy one to estimate or to describe. His natural good abilities, aided by a good education, placed him in a position far beyond his compeers; and we can well understand Polwhele's remark⁵ on the Farleys being "no match for the learning and abilities of Brice." That he possessed literary talents of a high order is shown by his article on "Exeter," in his *Gazetteer*, more especially in the arguments on the site of Isca Dumnoniorum, and the manner in which he traverses the statements of Izacke. Of another order of composition, and as displaying his versatility in a praiseworthy direction, some of his newspaper leaders may be mentioned; *e.g.*, an Essay on Friendship in his *Journal* of February 25th, 1726. But, on the other hand, when excited by political animosity or by private enmity, he appears to have thrown off all restraint, and as he was a master in the arts of vituperation, satire, and unscrupulous sneering, and coarse in his statements, we are not surprised to learn he was constantly embroiled in literary and even in more active warfare. He was vigorous and thorough in all that he did; a model of plodding perseverance as the circumstances of his early life have already demonstrated; a man of strong feelings and powerful resentment. Testy,* painfully sensitive, never forgetting or forgiving an injury, and governed by strong impulses, whether for good or for evil. And yet, like those of a large class, his faults were far more patent to the world than were his virtues. His character was antithetic, powerful in extremes. Although a good fighter, even when on the losing side, he often acknowledged himself to be in the wrong. In his daily life no one was kinder, displayed more hospitality, or was more charitable—all these

* Judging from the following passage in a letter to E. Farley (printed in his *Journal* of April 28th, 1728, and from which quotations have already been made) he must have been fully aware of his own irritability: "I presume you scarce ever profited so vastly by your former Provocations that you should again venture to irritate me, who you know take Fire like Touchwood, and am fond of a Paper Combat."

good qualities were especially exhibited to his poorer relatives, as well as to the "poor players." Of him Dr. Oliver reports,² "that he was a great favourite with his brother Exonians is certain; he . . . was frank, humourous, and independent." He also calls him "facetious," a point of character on which Andrew appeared to pride himself, as he sometimes dubbed himself "Merry Andrew," at other times "Andrew surnamed Merry."* He certainly possessed a strong individuality, and was eccentric in speech, in manner, and dress.

There are several portraits of him:

1. A mezzotint, 4to, engraved by Jehner, and published in 1781. (*British Mezzotint Portraits* by J. Chaloner Smith ii. 724.)

2. Line engraving, royal 8vo, The original by Mrs. Jackson, and engraved by Woodman. Inscribed "Andrew Brice of Exeter, Printer: Author of the *Topographic Dictionary*, &c., Ætat 83. Published . . . for Barnabas Thorn Bookseller Exon Apr 21st, 1774."

3. Line engraving, 8vo, from same original as 2. Published in the *Universal Magazine* for 1781.

4. Line engraving, 8vo, from same original as 2. Engraved by Leney. Published in 1794.

5. Etching, 8vo.

His library of Books was sold in the following year by Edward Score, Bookseller, of Exeter. (*Bibl. Cornub.* 1030.)

In conclusion, it must be mentioned with regret, that no public record of his memory is to be found anywhere in the city of his birth, of his death, and his abiding-place throughout an unusually long life. How much he loved it may be gathered from the following paragraph, written three years before his death:

"During my poor Remains of Life I shall heartily wish a Continuance of Prosperity, and growing Reputation, in all Respects, to this my beloved native EXETER—(from which no Endeavours have prevail'd to draw me away)—till with all other Places she be, at last, dissolved."†

* *Vide* his *Journal* of January 5th, 1728, and No. 43 Wrapper to *Gazetteer*.

† Preface to the *Mobiad*, xviii.

[APPENDIX.]

The Forty-third Number
 (Containing Eight Sheets, Price 1s.)
 OF THE
 GRAND GAZETTEER,
 OR
Topographic Dictionary,
 BOTH
 GENERAL and SPECIAL,
 AND
 ANTIENT as well as MODERN, &c.

Printing-House, Jan. 25, 1755.

THE rest of this DICTIONARY, with the INDEX, short INTRODUCTION, TITLE-PAGE, and ALL, will be deliver'd, stitch'd together, as soon as *good Speed* may be.—And, having in this Manner said nothing at all of it for a *very long while*, we humbly hope *Indulgence* in presenting what seems requisite *now*; tho' I find myself at this Time *pretty much upon my Mettle*, and write with *Emotion*.

How desirous soever may *any* be of seeing the WORK finish'd, to be bound, more conveniently and perfectly for Use,—the Satisfaction of *all* Customers, if *united*, could scarce equal the growing *Gladness of myself*, the chain'd-down poor Drudge in *their Service*: I justly repeat it, THEIR Service.

And now, in as serious a Mood as if I thought myself this Moment dying,—as solemnly as if the Sacrament were to me administering,—with as much Sincerity as I wish attending my last Prayer,—absolutely and peremptorily do I declare, That, at my *first* undertaking this *Dictionary*, I had no Design that it should, nor a Thought that it really would, exceed 30 Numbers —AT THE VERY UTMOST: And accordingly order'd but for a suitable Quantity of Paper,—No:—I dare boldly tell the World, that, how *little* or how soever I may be, my *Soul* disdains any *sinister little Arts, Deceit, or Fraud* (however ordinarily prac-

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tised by THE TRADE), and destests all Kinds of *Imposture & Imposition*.

The very Truth is, I not only, as proverbially 't is express'd, *reckon'd without mine Host*, being not sufficiently apprized how large such a GRAND WORK, fully making good the so extensive and comprehensive Proposition, of Necessity must be;—but, moreover, after 5 or 6 Numbers came abroad, I had it very frequently and strenuously inculcated upon me, by and from many the most Learned and Judicious, that the WORK would be one of the most useful and noble of the Age, with the Proviso, *That I kept up the Spirit of it*: Such was the common very Expression. Others, fearing, from the Quantity of Paper taken up by the 3 or 4 first Letters of the Alphabet, that we could not possibly so *keep up the Spirit*, and yet comprize the Whole in a single Volume; or that, in order to keep tight to the Proposal in such behalf, I should be necessitated to suppress Genius, rebate Vigour, baulk Fancy, omit many Articles, or dock and curtail numerous main ones,—(I say, they apprehending such *lessening Things*)—very often dinn'd me with a *Good now, don't flag; don't abate; don't spoil the Work by shortening it:—Make two or more Volumes rather*; and such like.—Nay, even most of those who *stab'd my Soul* with Inquiries *How many Numbers more?* or *When will this Thing be finish'd?* &c. even they themselves, us'd to own their chusing 5 Numbers too many rather than 1 too few.

Mean while, not one of the most ungentle Murmurers, (who, by the Bye, possibly, might not have read through a single Number with *due Attention* and *Apprehension*) can say but that what he hath bought hath been sold him most fairly as by *Weight* and *Measure*; nor tax us with using a false Balance, &c. Hardly a *Number* went forth, but it still rose above, rather than sunk beneath, preceding ones in Worth of Matter, and sometimes, latterly, in comprized Quantity besides. And I can demonstrate, that every Number sold at the Price but of 1.s. contains more and *more valuable Matter* than some books of 10s.; and even more Words (not regarding *Conciseness of Diction*) than often to be found in Pamphlets to the Amount of 6, 7, or 8.

That we have exceeded the Limits at first intended, proposed, and look'd for, deserves *Praise* and *Thanks* rather than *Obloquy & snarling Censure*. 'Tis so much the more to the Advantage of the Work throughout, and adds to the Usefulness of the other Parts. The compact VOLUME—(tho' very entertaining and informing be every single NUMBER of itself, when read through)—is to be, or may occasionally be, of *daily Use*, and that possibly for ensuing Ages. Would it not trouble a person, looking for an Article of Moment, not to find it? or, if found, that it should give him little or no Satisfaction? And let me, in Purity of Truth, add, That the doing this hath been to my own Hurt and Loss; and, so far from *picking the Penny*, as to be monthly *Pounds* out of my

Pocket. And yet resolutely have I persisted in doing the Book and its Reader Justice, however great the Risque ran by me in distancing the time of my hoped-for good Harvest at the End. Furthermore:—'Tis not yet quite 4 Years since issued Number I. So that, tho' much of the Time afflicted by a sore and grievous Malady, and once long disabled by a next to deadly one, little more than 4 Months have been lost upon the Whole, with regard to *monthly* Publication, even tho' 4 Christmas, 4 Easter, and as many Whitsun, Tides have intervened, at which Seasons Workmen claim intervals for Recreation. Nor, remember I to have twice, if ever at all, made the common Pretence *Accident at the Press*, &c. An instance of strict Inquiry and constant Labour seldom if ever known.

The World, even the most invidious Part, can't charge me with any of the wonted *Puffs* in behalf to the Performance. No; I condemn such *pitiful Finesses*, however useful may others experience them. 'Tis known that I most fairly sent forth 4 Sheets, (those far from the best, the 4 very first Sheets) as a *Specimen*, that persons might see and judge what they might expect: And have ever since left the gradual Work to speak for itself, as it more and more came to Age;—comforted indeed by the Commendations—(*Encomiums* I might say)—which the *Judicious*, both orally and by Epistle, have been all along paying it.—Through *Modesty*—(Excuse the *Immodesty* of saying it)—we have hitherto omitted printing any Line of Such Letters in my Favour, tho' check'd by the Writers of some of them for so disappointing their Ends thereby to do me Service with the Publick. Other friends also have blamed me, accounting too much Bashfulness one of my Faults. And yet 'tis with some Reluctance that I now, at the last, yield to Advice and Importunity in letting the following Extract from one such Letter go forth as a Sample. Oh! may it meet with a kind Reception!—

— 'Pray look upon this as an Earnest
'of that Friendship and Esteem which I have for You, and Value
'for your Learning, your Skill, your Accuracy, your Diligence
'and Industry, and daily *Fatigue*, and *hard Labour*.
'When I was in *Cambridge*, I was put upon making an INDEX
'to a *Latin* Author; and, by the Time that I had finish'd it, I
'was entirely of *Scaliger's* Mind, in the Epigram which he pre-
'fix'd to *Buxtorf's Opus triginta Annorum*,—"If any one has
'been guilty of a Capital Offence, let him not be executed,—let
'him not be sent to the Gallies,—let him not
'be tortur'd in any respect,—but* *Lexica* * *i.e.* Let
'*contextet; nam cætera quid morar?*' 'for this him compile
'implies all, and more than all.—And then Dictionaries.
'what shall we say of *You*, whose principal busi-
'ness for so many Years has been Drudging in such

‘slavish Work, for the Benefit and Pleasure, and Improvement, of Mankind? Surely those who know any thing of the matter ‘cannot but have an high Value for you, and your industrious ‘Labours.—And, after all—[*The Gentleman means as to the Writing Part only*]—‘to commit to the Press, to correct, revise, and correct again, and that *so accurately* that I have not ‘seen above one or two literal σφάλματα—[i.e. Slips, &c.] ‘in your whole Grand Performance:—I pray God to give you ‘Health and Strength to finish it, which when done, I shall look ‘upon as one of the Greatest Works of the Age.’—

Thus the kind Gentleman; who probably would have express’d yet greater Admiration at my Hardiness and Patience, had he also noted, that besides all the above there’s my NEWS-PAPER to be managed, and all my other PRINTING BUSINESS to take in, to write, to rectify, to order, to direct, to correct, to supervise, &c. &c. And withal all the other Concerns and Offices common to most Working-Tradesmen, who have no clerk or Amanuensis, lye upon my own proper Head and Hand.—

Judge therefore whether I have not Reason to rejoice at having brought the DICTIONARY Work so near to a full Period. And so chear’d up, the said Detail of *Tasks so many* shall serve to introduce a Note,—(for having now spit out my whole deal of *Venom*, conclude would I in perfect *Good-Humour*)—viz. That had it not been for the relieving Facetiousness and Plesantry of my Disposition, and the Allowance of some short Excursions of Fancy, some brief Comments, some serious Reflections, some Flights of Humour, necessary Ridicule and innocent Drollery, some Slyness of Inuendo, and such like—*What-d’ ye-call-ums*,—(Trash you may call ‘em)—now and then, when Occasion seem’d to require, or would well enough admit, why then the very weighty huge Burthen had been intolerable. Alas! To be doom’d without Mercy *servilely* but to *select, compile, or transcribe*, a great much dry, dull, and dulling Stuff, would be the saddest of Deaths to.

ANDREW surnamed *Merry*.

P.S. Divers have been at me with the *Why I propos’d not MAPS to embellish the Dictionary?* Answer; Because I had more Honesty than to impose such upon any Gentleman already furnished with ‘em. The common Practice of that Sort is by me abhorr’d. Indeed such as have no Maps, or not enough, or hardly good ones, might not do amiss to procure some in Season of our Book-sellers.

Finally, I beseech the Learned and Judicious Part of my Subscribers, as speedily as Convenience may permit, to send (but without putting us to Charges) a List of any material Errors, Mistakes, or Omissions, which they may have discover’d; to be inserted in the Table of ERRATA.

No. 44.

[In MS.—“No. 44, the last Number. Price 2s.”]

THO' this GRAND GAZETTEER alone, of itself, next to infinitely surpasses, for its modern general Use, Any One hook of the Kind extant, prohably, in the World; it being —(we say, considered but in such Respect alone)—of constant mighty Use, and that not only for Newsmongers, Readers of History, &c. &c. but for such as would study, and, as they ought, rightly apprehend, the Holy Scriptures, as also for Proficients as well as Pupils in Classical and other Polite Literature: Yet, to render such Work vastly the more useful, (seeing that copious Matters, of various Entertainment, are occasionally, and often on Purpose, inserted therein, and numerous Articles themselves introduced for the sake thereof;—we say, to make it abundantly the more useful)—we propos'd, moreover, to make an ample INDEX, hut yet comprehended in a few Sheets, in Manner of COMMON-PLACE, of some Thousands of THINGS Curious and truly Notable; exhibiting thereby Parts of a brief History of Mankind, and of Arts as well as Nature.

The said Compiler, and Author, happily enjoying pretty good Health,—(excepting temporary Disorders, incident of Animal Machines, that are *subject to all the Skiey Influences*)—he had Hope to have publish'd the FULL WORK some Months ago.

But the Cause of his not so doing is not, as many have suspected, (and some, it seems, *kindly* reported) any the least Personal Disability, hut divers other Impediments; most especially the Loss of several Pair of Hands in the Printing Business. Upon that Account he hath been tied to Offices which his best-qualify'd Men were wont to discharge; nay, heen sometimes actually forced to work at the Composition Part of the Occupation even at Midnight.

But having now some additional good Help in the common Business, he is resolutely bent to prosecute the Work, *viz.* of the INDEX, the very best he possihly can; he hopes, without any more long Interruption. It is indeed a Task very great, far more ponderous than the Inexperienced can imagine; the Profit whereof not adequate to the Time and Pains hestowed thereon in a fiftieth Degrec. Yet will he, by Heaven's Favour, chearfully fulfil Engagement, and that, he hopes, to Satisfaction, perhaps beyond all Expectation.

Mean Time, to make the *Dictionary Part* of present ready Use, as a GAZETTEER, &c. and that truly GRAND, our Customers may get all the Forty Four Numhers well and firmly stitch'd together;—or, which will be vastly hetter, what is call'd *half-bound*;—and then upon the Consummation of the Entire WORK, to have it ALL compleatly bound as handsomely as they please.

This present XLIVth (double) Number contains about Five Hundred Articles, a Multitude of them extremely informing, very curious, entertaining, and often facetiously argumentative and convictively diverting.

On our Publication of the 3 or 4 first Numbers, some Great and Learned Gentlemen were, favourably, pleas'd to say, that if we *kept up the Spirit* of the Work, 'twould be one of the noblest of the Age.—Such Personages, and other Gentlemen of like good Taste and Judgment, have done us the Justice to acknowledge that such SPIRIT hath gradually *rose* higher and higher, rather than *sunk*. And we are now humbly bold to say, that this last double Number grandly, in such Respect *crowns* the Work: The Steward of the Feast having reserved some of his best Wine for the latter End.

NOTE FURTHER.

As Divine Providence hath wrought divers Wonderful, Some very Tremendous, *Changes* in Places, and the States of Places, of late Years, and some few Articles have slipp'd unnoticed, we find it requisite to Add a very small SUPPLEMENT to the *Dictionary* or *Topographic* Part itself: And shall be very thankful for all kind Assurances in that behalf.

POST-SCRIPT.

The *London* News-Papers of late, as from Time to Time hath been the Practice, giving occasional Descriptions of Places, which the Writers of the first Paper that contains them (as they take from one another) borrow from the same Authors that but partly are the Ground-Work of a small deal of our DICTIONARY,—they thereby, tho' unwittingly, proclaim not only the constant *Usefulness* but even the perpetual *Need* of such a work. For how can any have a right and clear Conception of eventual Circumstances at or in a Place, who have not wherewith to form some Idea of that Place, &c. ? Let us, withal, acquaint the World, that the very Books by us us'd in the Composition—(to say nothing of our own Fancy, Reasoning, and Helps from Knowledge and Memory, &c.)—cost far above 100l.

Persons may have all the Forty Four Numbers, Price 2l. 5s. at A. BRICE'S, Printer, in North-gate-street, Exeter; and have their Names inserted in the List of Subscribers. And so may such as have purchas'd former Numbers of others, on now immediately taking the rest. Whoever neglect the present Opportunity will be cut off from completing their Numbers hereafter; we resolving to break no Sets to serve any dilatory Person whatsoever.

[Dated in MS. "1755."]

WHO WROTE THE "EXMOOR SCOLDING AND COURTSHIP" ?

THIS is a question that has been frequently asked, and to which a satisfactory reply has not yet been made. Andrew Brice had certainly much to do with their early history, and no bibliographical notice of him could be considered complete, without considering the question whether he had any, and what, share in their authorship. Hence the following remarks :

In 1879, the two works under the above title were published as a specimen of Devonshire (strictly speaking, of North-East Devonshire) dialect, in one of the publications of the English Dialect Society, and edited by Mr. F. T. Elworthy, one of our members. In the form issued by him it is one of the most important dialect-works in the English language.

With respect to the affirmation in the title of its being written "in the propriety and decency of Exmoor language," Mr. Elworthy justly enters a warm protest. To imply it to be "a fair sample," he says, "is simply scandalous."* On the other hand, he remarks, "the two dialogues are most valuable as preserving very clearly the general spirit of the dialect, as well as many very interesting peculiarities which remain unaltered to this day." (13, 14.) Of their history, he states, "nothing really authentic seems to be known." (9.) Professor Skeat is of opinion they "were evidently written, in the first instance, merely to amuse,"† their popularity being shown by the number of cheap reprints that have been published, and without notes.

Until a very recent date, the first publication of the *Courtship* was believed to be that in the *Gentleman's Magazine*,

* *Vide* some remarks by a contributor in *Western Antiquary*, vi. 197.

† *Ibid.* Introduction, vii.

xvi. (1746) 297-300, to which it was contributed as "a pastoral," by "H. Oxon" [Exon?], who affirmed, "it was first written by a clergyman of Devonshire near the forest of Exmoor; but," he adds, "I believe, has received some additions." The *Scolding* was printed in 352-355 of the same volume, without notes or contributor's name. A Preface first appeared in the edition (7th) of 1771, printed by A. Brice and B. Thorn, and contained this statement as to its authorship:

"The following collection was originally made about the beginning of the present century, by a blind itinerant Fidler, (one *Peter Lock*, of North-Moulton or its neighbourhood), who was a man of some humour, and tho' his skill and dexterity as a musician is said to have recommended him to the notice of the great, his more common converse with the lower class of people, gave him frequent opportunities of hearing and observing their phrases and dietion; and as persons deprived of sight have generally a good memory, he was thereby the better able to retain and repeat them. This attracted the notice (A) of a neighbouring clergyman, who by the Fidler's assistance, put the *Exmoor Scolding* into the form in which we now have it, and before his death (which happened soon after the year 1725), communicated it to the editor (B) of the first and subsequent editions, who perfected the *Courtship*" (reprint of edition of 1771 in that of 1818).

To the transcript of the preface to the edition of 1778, Mr. Elworthy has added a footnote, that in a copy of that of 1771 belonging to the E. D. S., there are pencil notes in the handwriting of Sir F. Madden; one after "Notice" (A), "Rev. Will. Hole, Archdeacon of Barnstaple;" and after "Editor" (B), "Mr. Wm. Chapple."*

On the other hand, in a paper on "Language, with Special Reference to the Devonian Dialects," by Sir John Bowring, read at the Tavistock Meeting of the Devonshire Association in 1866, is this passage:

"The Authors of the *Exmoor Scolding* and *Exmoor Courting* were Andrew Brice and Benjamin Bowring. The former was a learned and laborious bookseller in Exeter. . . . The latter (my paternal great grandfather) was the grandson of a John Bowring of Chumleigh, who was largely engaged in the woollen trade."†

Mr. Elworthy pointed out the absence of any authority for Sir John's statement, and that "the balance of evidence is very greatly on the side of Sir F. Madden, who gives

* 1717-1781, Author of *A Review of Part of Risdon's Survey of Devon*, 1785.

† *Trans.* i. v. 28.

'Mr. Merrivale' as his authority, in asserting Archdeacon Hole to have been the author." Also, that the remark as to the latter was made during his lifetime. (11.) But he seems to have overlooked the fact that no clergyman's name was mentioned until long afterwards. And so the matter rested for a time.

In the course of examination of a volume of *Brice's Weekly Journal* in the year 1883, it was rather startling to find on the first page of No. 51, for "Friday, June the 2d, 1727" the first part of the *Exmoor Scolding* (or as it there appears *Scholding*) with an introduction by Andrew Brice, in his remarkable style, of which the following is a transcript: [no heading.]

—"Sed in longum tamen ævum

Manerunt hodieq: manent vestigia ruris. Hor.

—— *Damnoniorum*

Plena jam voces integritate manent. Br—e.

As it's natural and full of Honour to *love one's Country*, so it's as *natural* (And why not as *praise-worthy*?) to love its *Language*. Thus every Nation is big with Commendations of its own peculiar Dialect. The *Spectator* informs us of a certain *Frenchman* wont to bless God that he was born to so fine and cultivated a Speech; whilst that Author, on the other hand, rejoices, for the same Reason, that he was born an *Englishman*. *Verstegan*, that celebrated Antiquary who (*a la mode de Genealogy de Jew*) derives his Origin from the Ancient *Saxons*, is luxuriant in his Enconium on the *Saïssonæg* Tongue; which on its Importation here, he boasts, much imbellished wilder *Britain*; and laments it as a vast Injury and Loss, that the barbarous *Danes*, savage *Normans*, &c. on their Conquests, should so woefully impose their several *Jargons* on our Ancestors, to root out or confound so Noble a Language. The *Welch*, Descendants of the *Britons*, again, even in their most *Anglified* Towns (who still give our modern *English* the Name of *Saïssonæg*, that is, *the Language of the Saxons*) have frequent Sermons, Lectures, &c. in the *Cambræic* Tongue, in order to preserve, and deliver to Posterity, that their own, uncorrupt and in its *simple* Purity. And I hear of a Gentleman in *Cornwall* (*in Antique Age Renown'd*—for Love to *Saints* and *Shipwrecks*!) who has taken noble mighty Pains in Translating the Bible into *Cornish*, or *Cornubian Welch*.

Since, therefore, it's esteem'd a Kind of Patriotism to stickle for our Native Speech.—I, in Honour of my matchless Country *Devon* (flowing no less with Manners than with Coin) whilst *Totnesius** celebrates our dead and living Heroes, their mighty

* An evident allusion to the Rev. John Prince, vicar of Berry Pomeroy, author of the *Worthies of Devon*.

Deeds and *Words*!—shall make it my peculiar Care to transmit to future Times our pure Vernacular Language; lest, by the too frequent Commigration of *Londoners* and *Bristolians*, it should be at length confounded. For which I expect Mr. *Bailey's* Thanks on his Dictionary's next Edition; and question not but *Can you spragen Devon?* will shortly be as much in Vogue as the old *Parlezvous Yorkshire?*"

A transcript of the *Scolding*, with Brice's preface, was sent to Mr. Elworthy, who forwarded an account of it, with a copy of the latter, to the *Athenæum*, and it appeared in the number of February 2nd, 1884.* He did not, however, make any allusion to its bearing on the subject of its authorship.

The four individuals whose names have been mentioned as the probable or possible authors, will now be treated separately.

1. PETER LOCK.

I am informed by the Rev. F. L. Bazeley, late vicar of North Molton, and now of Exeter, that, according to an entry in the Parish Registers of that place, one "Peter Locke" was interred there on March 16th, 1728. It is a matter of regret that his occupation is not recorded. This may have been the "blind fiddler" alluded to in the quotation from the 1771 edition of the *Scolding*; and the probability is increased by the circumstance of the itinerant's death being noticed in it as occurring "soon after the year 1725." On the other hand, it has to be remarked: (1) The name being a common one in the registers at that period;† (2) We have no evidence of Peter Lock having been reported as the possible author until 1771—forty-four years after its first publication; (3) Although, according to the same preface, "copies of the *Scolding* were, for some time before and after this [1725?], handed about in manuscript, of which the writer hereof has seen one near 40 years since" [circa 1731], yet it "was then taken to be the composition of the clergyman aforesaid, few being then apprehensive of its having any other author." But little can therefore be said either in proof or in disproof of Peter Lock as the author.

* This has been reprinted in the Dialect volume of the *Gentleman's Magazine* Library, edited by G. L. Gomme, together with an abstract of Mr. Elworthy's preface in the E. D. S. volume. (327-330.)

† Information from the late Vicar.

2. REV. WILLIAM HOLE.

Twenty years after the publication of the first dialogue (the *Scolding*) in Brice's *Journal*, we read in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1746 (297), that the second one (the *Courtship*) "was first written by a clergyman of Devonshire, near the forest of Exmoor." But according to the preface to the 1771 edition, as already quoted, the clergyman assisted to arrange the *Scolding* alone, the other being perfected at a later date by another person. The name of the clergyman is there given as the Rev. W. Hole. This is endorsed by Mr. Elworthy,* and has been generally accepted.

The following obituary memoir of him appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1791 (ii. 975):

"1791, Oct. 26. Died, at his house in St. Peter's church-yard, in his 82d year, the Rev. W. Hole, B.D., vicar of Menhinnet [Menheniot], in Cornwall, 46 years archdeacon of Barum, and many years a prebendary of Exeter; whose mild and friendly temper, communicative, curious, and chearful conversation, extensive learning, and unaffected piety, will long be remembered, by all who knew him, with delight and veneration. A further account of this excellent person, and of his writings may be expected."†

It would have been strangely inconsistent with the character here given of him, had he been in any way connected with the composition of either of the dialogues; it is therefore satisfactory to be able to absolve his memory from having had any share in them. If we examine the dates carefully, we shall find that at the time of the publication of the *Scolding* by Brice, in 1727, William Hole was only sixteen years of age.

It is possible that the circumstance of having been born at South Molton (of which place his father, the Rev. J. Hole, was vicar; in the vicinity therefore of North Molton and of Exmoor) may have suggested his name as the probable co-author with that of Peter Lock. It is a matter of grave doubt whether any clergyman had anything to do with it. It may be mentioned, as a curious literary coincidence, that the Rev. Richard Hole, the son of the Rev. W. Hole, has his name also associated with these dialogues, in a somewhat remarkable manner. It is related in a letter from

* *Op. cit.* 10.

† No further account appeared in that periodical.

Dr. Downman to Polwhele, the historian, dated May 2nd, 1795:

"Hole has lately read a very entertaining work on the *Exmoor Scolding and Courtship*. He has converted it into an elegant pastoral of Ancient Greece. The contrast has a good effect, but it is much too long for our purpose."*

3. BENJAMIN BOWRING.

Enquiries have failed to elicit any confirmation of the statement made by his relative, Sir John Bowring, as to the part he may have had in the construction of the dialogues. It was a calamity to literature that Sir John's papers were lost in the Red Sea, during his return voyage from China, as they probably contained some information on the subject. He will be referred to again presently.

4. ANDREW BRICE.

His *Journal* of June 2nd, 1727, contained the first part of the *Scolding*, ushered in by his characteristic preface,† in which the following paragraph should be especially noted: "[I] shall make it my peculiar Care to transmit to future Times our pure Vernacular Language." To the dialogue he affixes this observation: "So ends the first Part; which if I find taking, another may be speedily expected." This indicates it had not been previously printed. In his letter to the *Athenæum*, Mr. Elworthy expressed the "opinion that earlier ones [editions] still may yet be found," but this possibility is very doubtful.

That the dialogue pleased Brice's readers is evident, from the fact of the appearance of the second part in the issue for August 25th of the same year, with this short Introduction:

"If an extraordinary Sale be a Proof of a Thing's taking with the Publick, the first Part of the *Exmore Scolding*, &c., pleas'd so very well, that I am encouraged to print the second, not doubting its meeting with the like acceptance."

To this part there was no postscript.

* R. POLWHELE, *Traditions and Recollections* (1826), ii. 415. The three individuals named were members of a private literary society, at which papers on various subjects were read. A selection of these was published in 1796, with the title of *Essays, by a Society of Gentlemen at Exeter*. It is to this work, then in preparation, that Dr. Downman refers in his allusion to the Rev. R. Hole's paper being "much too long" for publication. A comparison of it with the original would have been interesting.

† *Vide ante*.

Up to the present date no copy of Brice's *Journal* or of any other paper has been found to contain the *Exmoor Courtship*, and there is fair reason to believe that its first appearance was in pamphlet form. Excepting in the instance of the reprint in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1746, it was invariably preceded by the *Scolding*.*

The dates of issue of the first and second editions are unknown, but that they were published by Brice is scarcely open to doubt. A copy of the third is in the Bodleian Library, and in it each dialogue has its own title-page. They bear the following imprints: *Scolding*—"Exon: Printed and Sold by Andrew Brice and Sarah Brice, at their New Printing-Office in Northgate-street, 1746." *Courtship*—"Exon: Printed by Andrew Brice, at his New Printing-Office, in Nothgate [*sic*] street, 1746."†

The first part has the postscript, "So ends the first Bout." The second is headed, "Bout the second;" and finishes, "So ends the Scolding. Next follows the Courtship, no less comical than the foregoing." The *Courtship* terminates with, "So end all the Dialogues."

The fourth edition, a copy of which is in my own possession, was published by Brice in 1750. The imprints are similar to those of the third, except that the words, "And Sarah," are omitted from the first title-page; and so are the phrases at the commencement and termination of the parts (some of these have been continued in all the subsequent reprints); the inference, in the case of the latter, being, that they were copied from the earlier editions.‡

That the copy in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1746, was taken from one of Brice's early editions, may fairly be concluded. The mode of spelling is almost identical; the phrases are the same; and that it was a transcript, and

* The only available copy of Brice's *Journal* is fairly complete from June 2nd, 1727, when the first part of the *Scolding* was published in it, to June 4th, 1731, the only missing numbers being those for April 19th, 1728; June 13th, 1729; January 29th, and first leaf of February 5th, 1731. The *Courtship* may have been printed in one of these, but this is very doubtful.

† Information of Mr. W. H. Allnutt.

‡ Mr. Elworthy remarks, "No less than seven editions were issued between 1746 and 1771 . . . all . . . published at Exeter (*Op. cit.* 11); but this is scarcely correct. The third edition appeared in 1746, the first and second probably much earlier. Other editions were subsequently published in Exeter by Thomas Brice, J. McKenzie and Son, and T. Penny; Torrington, by W. Squance; South Molton, by J. Huxtable; Devonport, by W. Wood; London, by J. R. Smith.

not an original communication, the correspondent's remarks clearly indicate.*

That Andrew Brice was the principal author of the dialogues, the following points appear to indicate. And first as to the *Scolding*.

1. It was printed as an original communication from himself, and not as received from a correspondent, as in the instance of many of his *Journal* articles; and was prefaced by a characteristic introduction of his own.

2. The remark appended to the first part, that if found "taking, another may be speedily expected," and those prefixed to the second, already quoted.

3. The close similarity of many of the words contained in it to those employed or invented by Brice, and termed "Bricisms."

4. The coarseness. His *Journal* of the same year contains much that exceeds, in objectionable words and sentiment, anything in the dialogues. To such who are interested in such matters, I would direct their attention to an article printed in the number for October 6th.

Now if Brice was the author of the *Scolding*, he was certainly the author of the *Courtship* as well. We have the powerful authority of Mr. Elworthy that they "were written by the same hand;"† and it appears to be generally admitted that he had some share in the latter. According to the preface (the first) in the issue of 1771, the clergyman (first mentioned in *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1746)

"Communicated it [the *Scolding*] to the editor of the first and subsequent editions, who perfected the *Courtship*."

"The editor" referred to was certainly A. Brice; but as he died in 1773, at the age of eighty-three, and had retired from business as well as from all active literary pursuits, for several years, he evidently had nothing to do with the composition of this preface. In the next edition (1778) the paragraph was thus altered:

"Communicated it to the public, and afterwards gave Rise to the Exmoor Courtship."

* Mr. Elworthy, in *Athenæum*, mentions, that as compared with the original of 1727, the reprint in *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1746, contains "a great number of orthographic changes;" but this is the case even in the consecutive editions issued in 1746 and 1750.

† *Op. cit.* 10.

Andrew's nephew, Thomas Brice, published two reprints in 1793, and 1802, and from the latter the following substituted paragraph is taken :

"Communicated it to Mr. Andrew Brice, of Exeter, printer, the editor of the first and subsequent editions, who perfected the Courtship."

It may fairly be assumed that the first edition of the Dialogues published by Brice, contained the earliest printed form of the *Courtship*, the composition of which was wholly due to the great success—the "extraordinary sale"—of its predecessor.

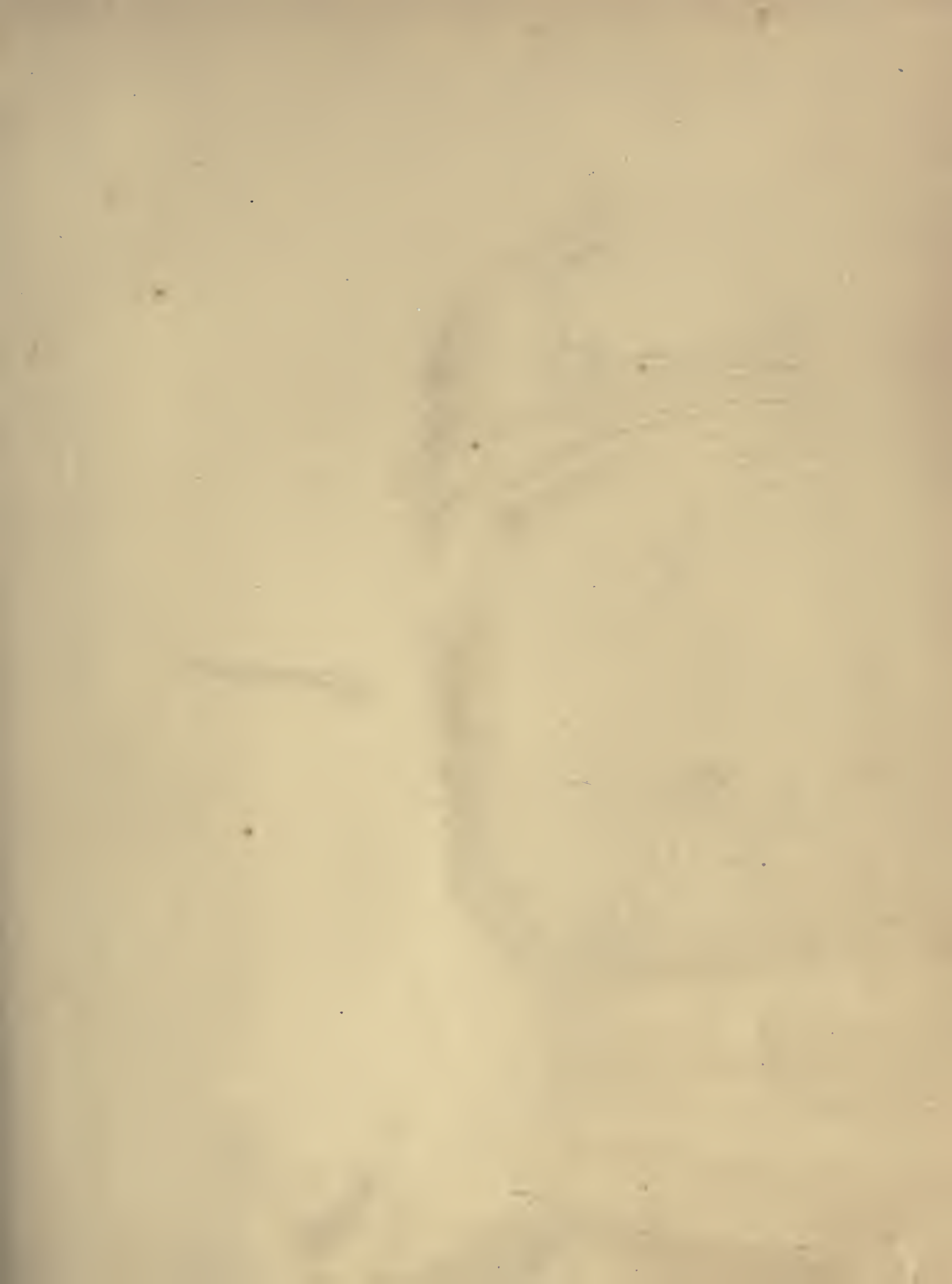
But if Brice wrote them, why did he never avow it? and as far as we know he never did. The cause is not far to seek. If any one will read them through carefully, and bear in mind they were evidently intended "merely to amuse" (and this is Professor Skeat's opinion), he will find ample reason why he could not be proud of his production, popular as it was, especially as years rolled on.

Everyone must allow that, excepting in one doubtful particular, he had plenty of ability to compose them. Did he possess the requisite amount of knowledge of the Devonshire dialect, and more especially of the Exmoor variant of it, as well as of certain local customs alluded to in the Dialogues? As a man born and bred in the county, it is not unlikely that he did; but whether so or not, had he any other means of obtaining it? On referring to the testimony of Sir John Bowring, already quoted, we find him asserting as a positive and indisputable fact, that "the authors . . . were Andrew Brice and Benjamin Bowring." From all we know of Sir John's character, we may rest assured that he would not have made this unmistakeable declaration, unless he had had excellent foundation for it. Good grounds have been already mentioned to show that he was probably correct as to Brice; but we are destitute of evidence to corroborate his statement of the co-authorship of B. Bowring. We must not, however, forget that the latter resided at Chumleigh, in the vicinity of Exmoor, and not much further from it than the "neighbouring clergyman," to whom the part authorship has been assigned by authors; he, therefore, must have had many opportunities of becoming acquainted with the Exmoor dialect. We must also bear in mind that some of Sir John's papers that were so unfortunately lost, would probably have thrown some light upon this point.

A careful consideration of the foregoing statements leads to the conclusion, that Andrew Brice must have been one of the authors; and that Benjamin Bowring—relying upon Sir John's authority—was the other. Whether the primary idea of the dialogues originated with them, or was obtained from some itinerant like Peter Lock, may be conjectural, but the latter is not altogether an improbability.

The following quotation from A. Brice's *Gazetteer*, as being germane to the subject, may fittingly bring these remarks to a termination :

"About the Skirts of *Ex-moor*, on *Dartmoor*, and some other of the wilder Parts, the ordinary People may be truly enough said to be *born Clowns*, their Carriage being very rustic and ungainly, and their Speech so coarse, corrupt, and uncouth, as to be scarcely intelligible to strangers." (440.)



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